Under Three Flags

Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination

BENEDICT ANDERSON

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It's a mutual, joint-stock world, in all messtimes.
We cannibals must help these Christians. (Queequeg)

In homage to Herman Melville
In memory of Tsuchiya Kenji
For Kenichiro, Carol and Henry

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Introduction

If one looks up at a moonless, dry-season, tropical night sky, one sees a glittering canopy of stationary stars, connected by nothing but darkness visible and the imagination. The serene beauty is so immense that it takes an effort of will to remind oneself that these stars are actually in perpetual, frantic motion, impelled hither and yon by the invisible power of the gravitational fields of which they are ineluctable, active parts. Such is the Chaldean elegance of the comparative method, which, for example, allowed me once to juxtapose "Japanese" nationalism with "Hungarian," "Venezuelan" with "American," and "Indonesian" with "Swiss." Each shining with its own separate, steady, unitary light.

When night fell in revolutionary Haiti, yellow-fevered Polish troops under General Charles Leclerc, sent by Napoléon to restore slavery, heard their adversaries in the near distance singing the "Marseillaise" and "Ça ira!" Responding to this reproach, they refused an order to massacre black prisoners.[1] The Scottish Enlightenment was decisive for framing the American anticolonial insurrection. The Spanish American nationalist independence movements are inseparable from the universalist currents of liberalism and republicanism. In their turn Romanticism, democracy, Idealism, Marxism, anarchism, even, late in the day, fascism were variously understood as globe-stretching and nation-linking. Nationalism, that element with the highest valency of all, combined with all these others in different ways and in different times.

This book is an experiment in what Melville might have called political

1. See the moving description in C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins*, rev. ed. (New York: Vintage, 1989), pp. 317–18.

autonomy. It attempts to map the gravitational force of anarchism, the militant nationalism on opposite sides of the planet, Following the collapse of the First International, and Marx's death in 1883, anarchism, in its characteristically variegated forms, was the dominant element on the self-consciously internationalist radical Left. It was not merely that in Kropotkin (born twenty-two years after Marx) and Malatesta (born thirty-three years after Engels) anarchism produced a pioneering philosopher and a charismatic activist-leader from a younger generation, not mislabeled by mainstream Marxism. Notwithstanding the towering stature of Marx's thought, from which anarchism often borrowed, the movement did not disdain peasants and agricultural laborers in an age when serious industrial proletariats were mainly confined to Northern Europe. It was open to "bourgeois" writers and artists—in the name of individual freedom. In a way that, in those days, institutional Marxism was not. Just as hostile to imperialism, it had no theoretical prejudices against "small" and "minor" nationalisms, including those in the colonial world. Anarchism was also quicker to capitalize on the vast transoceanic migrations of the era. Malatesta spent four years in Buenos Aires—something inconceivable for Marx or Engels, who never left Western Europe. Mayday celebrates the memory of immigrant anarchists—not Marxists—executed in the United States in 1886.

This book's temporal focus on the final decades of the nineteenth century has still other justifications. The near-simultaneity of the last nationalist insurrection in the New World (Cuba, 1895) and the first in Asia (the Philippines, 1896) was no serendipity. Natives of the last important remnant of the fabled Spanish global empire, Cubans (as well as Puerto Ricans and Dominicans) and Filipinos did not merely read about each other, but had crucial personal connections and, up to a point, coordinated their activities—the first time in world history that such transglobal coordination became possible. Both were eventually crushed, within a few years of each other, by the same brutish would-be world hegemon. But the coordination did not take place directly between the broken hill-country of Oriente and Cavite, but was mediated through "representatives," above all in Paris, and secondarily in Hong Kong, London and New York. Newspaper-reading Chinese nationalists eagerly followed events in Cuba and the Philippines—as well as the Boer nationalist struggle against Ukanian imperialism, which Filipinos also studied—to learn how to "do" revolution, anticolonialism, and anti-imperialism. Both Filipinos and Cubans found, to different degrees, their most reliable allies among French, Spanish, Italian, Belgian and British anarchists—each for their own, often non-nationalist, reasons.

These coordinations were made possible because the last two decades of

the nineteenth century witnessed the onset of what one could call "early globalization." The invention of the telegraph was rapidly followed by many improvements, and the laying of transoceanic submarine cables. The "wire" was soon taken for granted by city people all over the planet. In 1903, Theodore Roosevelt sent off a round-the-globe telegram to himself which reached him in nine minutes.[2] The inauguration of the Universal Postal Union in 1874 easily accelerated the reliable movement of letters, magazines, newspapers, photographs, and books around the world. The steamship—safe, speedy and cheap—made possible unprecedentedly massive migrations from state to state, empire to empire, and continent to continent. A thickening network of railways was moving millions of people and commodities within national and colonial borders, linking remote interiors to each other and to ports and capitals.

During the eight decades between 1815 and 1894 the world was largely at relatively peace. Almost all states outside the Americas were headed by monarchs, autocrats or constitutional. The three longest and bloodiest wars took place on the periphery of the world-system—civil wars in China and the United States, the Crimean War on the northern littoral of the Black Sea, and the horrifying struggle of the 1860s between Paraguay and its powerful neighbors. Bismarck's crushing defeats of Austro-Hungary and France were achieved with lightning speed and without any huge loss of life. Europe had such vast superiority in industrial, financial, scientific, and financial resources that imperialism in Asia, Africa, and Oceania forged ahead without much effective armed resistance, except in the case of the Mutiny in India. And capital itself moved quickly and pretty freely across existing national and imperial boundaries.

But beginning in the early 1880s the preliminary tremors were being felt of the earthquake that we remember variously as the Great War or the First World War. Tsar Alexander II's assassination in 1881 by bomb-throwing radicals calling themselves The People's Will was followed over the next twenty-five years by the killing of a French president, an Italian monarch, an Austrian empress and an heir-apparent, a Portuguese king and his heir, a Spanish prime minister, two American presidents, a king of Greece, a king of Serbia, and powerful conservative politicians in Russia, Ireland, and Japan. Of course, a much larger number of *attentats* failed. The earliest and most spectacular of these assassinations were carried out by anarchists, but nationalists soon followed in their wake. In most cases the immediate

2. Telegraphic transmission of photographs arrived just after the period covered by this book. In 1902, the German scientist Alfred Korn showed how it could be done, and by 1911 wirephoto circuits already connected London, Paris, and Berlin.

aftermath was a mass of draconian "anti-terrorist" legislation, summary executions, and a sharp rise in torture by police forces, public and secret, as well as militaries. But the assassins, some of whom could well be described as early suicide-bombers, understood themselves as acting for a world-audience of news agencies, newspapers, religious progressives, working-class and peasant organizations, and so on.

Imperialist competition, till 1880 still largely between the United Kingdom, France, and Russia, was beginning to be intensified by such newcomers as Germany (in Africa, Northeast Asia, and Oceania), the United States (across the Pacific and into the Caribbean), Italy (in Africa), and Japan (in East Asia). Resistance was also beginning to show a more modern and effective face. In the 1890s, Spain had to send the hitherto largest military force to cross the Atlantic in its attempt to smash Martí's insurrection in Cuba. In the Philippines, Spain held on against a nationalist uprising but could not defeat it. In South Africa, the Boers gave the British Empire the shock of its aging life.

Such is the general proscenium on which the main actors in this book played their various nomadic parts. One could put this point more vividly, perhaps, by saying that the reader will encounter Italians in Argentina, New Jersey, France, and the Basque homeland; Puerto Ricans and Cubans in Haiti, the United States, France, and the Philippines; Spaniards in Cuba, France, Brazil, and the Philippines; Russians in Paris; Filipinos in Belgium, Austria, Japan, France, Hong Kong, and Britain; Japanese in Mexico, San Francisco, and Manila; Germans in London and Oceania; Chinese in the Philippines and Japan; Frenchmen in Argentina, Spain, and Ethiopia. And so on.

In principle, one could open the study of this vast rhizomal network anywhere—Russia would take one eventually to Cuba, Belgium would lead one to Ethiopia, Puerto Rico would bring one to China. But this particular study embarks from the Philippines for two simple reasons. The first is that I am deeply attached to it, and have studied it, on and off, for twenty years. The second is that in the 1890s, though on the outer periphery of the world-system, it briefly played a world-role which has since eluded it. A subordinate reason is the material available to me. The three men whose lives anchor the study—born within three or four years of each other in the early 1860s—lived in the holy time before the advent of the photocopy, the fax, and the internet. They wrote copiously—letters, pamphlets, articles, academic studies, and novels—in undeletable pen and ink, on paper that was expected to have a near-infinite life. (The United States Archives today refuses to accept anything xeroxed—it will become illegible within twenty years—or in electronic form—it will be unreadable, or readable only at prohibitive cost, even sooner, thanks to the hurtling pace of technological innovation.)

Nonetheless, a study that, however superficially, takes one to Rio de Janeiro, Yokohama, Ghent, Barcelona, London, Harar, Paris, Hong Kong, Smolensk, Chicago, Cádiz, Port-au-Prince, Tampa, Naples, Manila, Lanzarote, Cayo Hueso, and Singapore requires its own combinative narrative style. In this style there are two central elements: second (historically) is Eisenstein's montage, while the first is that of the roman-feuilleton pioneered by Charles Dickens and Eugène Sue. The reader is thus requested to imagine that she is reading a black-and-white film or a novel *manqué* of which the conclusion is over the tired novelist's horizon.

There is one further burden on the good reader. In the late nineteenth century there was as yet no ugly, commercially debased "international language." Filipinos wrote to Austrians in German, to Japanese in English, to each other in French, or Spanish, or Tagalog, with liberal interventions from the last beautiful international language, Latin. Some of them knew a bit of Russian, Greek, Italian, Japanese, and Chinese. A wire might be sent around the world in a matter of minutes, but real communication required the true, hard internationalism of the polyglot. Filipino leaders were peculiarly adapted to this Babelish world. The language of the political enemy was also their private language, though understood by less than 5 percent of the Philippine population. Tagalog, the native language used in Manila and its immediate periphery, was not understood by most Filipinos, and in any case was useless for international communication. Many native speakers of rival local languages, especially Cebuano and Ilocano, preferred Spanish, even though this language was, in the Philippines, a clear marker of elite, even collaborationist status. To give the reader the most vivid sense of a vanished polyglot world, this study quotes liberally from the different languages in which these people wrote to each other and to non-Filipinos. (All the translations in this book are my own, unless stated otherwise.)

The formal structure of the book is governed by its method and its objects. It has a clear-cut, if arbitrary, beginning in the quiet, remote Manila of the 1880s, and then gradually fans out across Europe, the Americas, and Asia towards an even more arbitrary *finis* for which no "conclusion" seems feasible. It is anchored, if that is the best word for it, in the young lives of three prominent Filipino patriots born in the early 1860s: novelist of genius José Rizal, pioneering anthropologist and polemical journalist Isabelo de los Reyes, and coordinating organizer Mariano Ponce.

Chapters 1 and 2 are contrasting studies of two remarkable books: Isabelo's *El folk-lore filipino* (Manila, 1887) and Rizal's enigmatic second novel *El filibusterismo* (Ghent, 1891). They investigate the ways in which: (1) the anthropologist openly deployed the work of contemporary European ethnologists and folklorists, combined with his own local research, to under-

intellectual credibility of the colonial authorities, both clerical and lay; (2) the novelist borrowed alchemically from key figures of the French, Dutch, and Spanish literary avant-gardes to write what is probably the first incendiary anticolonial novel written by a colonial subject outside Europe.

The following chapter begins the move away from amateur literary criticism to the field of politics. *El filibusterismo* is still the main topic, but it is explicated through the filter of Rizal's reading and experiences in Europe between 1882 and 1891, as well the fallout from his brilliant first novel *Noli me tangere*, which made him the symbol of Philippine resistance to colonial rule, and won him the bitter enmity of many in high places. It also deals with the political conflicts that sharpened among the Filipino activists in Spain. *El filibusterismo* is argued to be a kind of global novel by contrast with its predecessor. Its characters are no longer simply the Spanish and their native subjects, but include nomads from France, China, the United States, and even, some personages suspect, Cuba. The shadows of Bismarck in Europe and East Asia, Nobel's innovation in industrial explosives, Russian nihilism, and the anarchism of Barcelona and Andalusia are all apparent in its pages.

Chapter 4 covers the four years between Rizal's return home in 1891 and his execution at the very end of 1896. It discusses above all the transformations in Cuba, and in the *émigré* Cuban communities in Florida and New York, which made it possible for Martí to plan and launch an armed revolutionary insurrection in 1895 (and his successors' success in holding off at huge cost the gigantic expeditionary force sent to crush it). The opening of this attack occurred within a week of the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki (following Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895), which, by turning Taiwan over to Tokyo, brought the first Asian power within a day's sail from the northern shore of Luzon. Substantial sections are devoted to Rizal's abortive plan to create a Filipino colony in northeastern Borneo (interpreted in some important quarters as taking a leaf from Martí's Tampa book), and to his fraught relations with the clandestine Katipunan which launched an armed uprising against Spanish rule in 1896.

Chapter 5 is the most complicated. Two months before the outbreak of the Katipunan uprising, the bloodiest of many anarchist bombings took place in wartime Barcelona. The conservative regime of prime minister Cánovas responded with martial law in the city itself, massive arrests of people on the Left, and the practice of the grimmest tortures in the gloomy fortress of Montjuich. Among those imprisoned was the remarkable creole Cuban anarchist Tárrida del Mármol. On his release he made his way to Paris, where he launched an extraordinary crusade against the Cánovas regime, mainly through the pages of *La Revue Blanche*, then the most important

avant-garde journal in France, perhaps in the world. Tárrida's long series of articles, starting shortly before Rizal's execution, linked together the fierce repression in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Barcelona, and the Philippines. Tárrida's crusade spread rapidly through the anarchist press in Europe and across the Atlantic, and soon developed powerful support from many other progressive organizations and journals. In Paris his key allies were Félix Fénéon and Georges Clémenceau. Fénéon, the driving intellectual force behind *La Revue Blanche*, was a brilliant art and drama critic, but also a committed anti-imperialist anarchist who did not hesitate to set off a bomb himself. Clémenceau, also a committed anti-imperialist, had been mayor of Montmartre under the Paris Commune, befriended many imprisoned anarchists, and worked hard, as journalist and politician, for the rights of workers. Both men played key roles in the Dreyfus affair which broke open in the autumn of 1897.

The chapter then turns to a consideration of the background to the assassination of Cánovas on August 9, 1897 by the young Italian anarchist Michele Angiolillo, which portended the collapse of the Spanish empire the following year. The key personality was Dr Ramón Betances, the legendary Puerto Rican conspirator for the independence of the Antillean colonies and enemy of both Spain and the voracious United States. The doctor was by no means an anarchist himself, but he found the most energetic European allies for his cause among Italian and French anarchists. The last two major sections pivot on the activities of Rizal's close friend Mariano Ponce, and on Isabelo de los Reyes. Ponce slipped out of Spain in the fall of 1896, and soon started to work as a key diplomatic and propaganda agent for the revolutionary Philippine government, first in Hong Kong, later in Yokohama. The book analyzes Ponce's remarkable correspondence with Filipinos and many kinds of foreigner—in Mexico City, New Orleans, New York, Barcelona, Paris, London, Amsterdam, Shanghai, Tokyo, and Singapore and considers various indications of his impact, especially in Japan and the resident Chinese community there. Isabelo, on the other hand, was imprisoned shortly after the Katipunan uprising, and was eventually sent to Montjuich prison in Barcelona, where he got to know and was impressed by the Catalan anarchist inmates. It was he who, on returning to Manila to face the new American colonial regime, brought with him the first copies of works of Kropotkin, Marx and Malatesta to reach his country. He practiced what the anarchists had taught him in organizing the first serious and militant trade union central in the Philippines.

It remains only to say that if readers find in this text a number of parallels and resonances with our own time, they will not be mistaken. At the 2004 Republican convention in New York, which was guarded by many thou-

sands of policemen and other "security" personnel, the metropolitan police chief told reporters that the danger came not from Communists, or even from fanatical Moslems, but rather from anarchists. At almost the same moment, a monument to the anarchist Haymarket Martyrs was erected in Chicago. The *New York Times* smugly remarked that "only now have the passions sufficiently subsided" for this inauguration to take place. It is true, America really is a continent.

1

Prologue: The Rooster's Egg

In 1887, at the Exposición Filipina in Madrid, a 23-year-old indio named Isabelo de los Reyes, living in colonial Manila, won a silver medal for a huge Spanish-language manuscript which he called *El folk-lore filipino*. He published this text in unwitting tandem with compatriot José Rizal (then aged twenty-five), who, after wandering around Northern Europe for some time, published his incendiary first novel, *Noli me tangere*, in Berlin that self-same year. This book helped earn him martyrdom in 1896 and, later, the permanent status of Father of His Country and First Filipino.

Who was Isabelo?[1]

He was born on July 7, 1864 in the still-attractive northern Luzon archiepiscopal coastal town of Vigan—which faces Vietnam across the South China Sea—to parents of the Ilocano ethnic group, the vast majority of whom were, in those days, illiterate. His mother Leona Florentino, however, was evidently a poet of some quality, so that at the Madrid and later expositions her poetry was displayed for Spaniards, Parisians, and people

1. Although Isabelo had a long and honorable career—aspects of which will be discussed in the final chapter of this book—no remotely adequate professional biography yet exists. The account of his youth that follows is drawn from the work of his eldest son, José de los Reyes y Sevilla, *Biografía del Senador Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino, Padre de las Obreras y Proclamador de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (Manila: Nueva Era, 1947), pp. 1–6, José L. Llanes, *The Life of Senator Isabelo del los Reyes* (monograph reprinted from the Weekly Magazine of the *Manila Chronicle*, July 24 and 31, and August 7, 1949), pp. 1–6, and the entry under his name in National Historical Institute, *Filipinos in History*, vol. 2 (Manila: NHI, 1990), pp. 137–8.

Square in Manila circa 1890

friars aroused in the boy a hatred of the Cath

verses at the age of ten, in Ilocano and in the S

History, vol 5 (Manila NHI, 1996), pp 141 2

asking readers to contribute

on his wife's township of Malabon, on the outskirts of Manila, on the Central Luzon province of Zambales, and in general terms, what he called *el folk-lore filipino* It became one of the great passions of his life

THE NEW SCIENCE

The question, naturally, is why? What was the mea[illegible] clerically educated native youth in the [illegible] Much [illegible] introduction and first pages of his [illegible] desert book [illegible] with some hesitation, as a [illegible] science, perhaps consciously echoing Comte's [illegible] which, thanks to the efforts of Mischet and [illegible] European science in the mid-nineteenth century. Isabelo explained [illegible] read in both the Philippines and Spain but his word [illegible] which he translated [illegible] as *folklore filipino*. [illegible] in 1886 by the English explorer William Dampier [illegible] the London *Freemason*. The first folklore society in the world [illegible] organized in London as recently as 1878 [illegible] has overtaken.[4] The French had followed suit nationally only in [illegible] just as Isabelo was starting to write. The Spanish typically had [illegible] [illegible] when their [illegible] they had no [illegible] incorporate the [illegible] Castelian as *folklore* [illegible] was [illegible] to [illegible] pioneering Brian [illegible] [illegible] He was [illegible] [illegible] most of the [illegible] beating progress something never [illegible] what Isabelo called this "remote [illegible] ght of civilization only tenuously shines."[illegible]

On the [illegible] to his [illegible] that [illegible] Castelian [illegible] the [illegible] wholarly thinking—and published in *Ausland* and [illegible] he claimed were the leading European [illegible] *Folklore filipino* [illegible] Anglo-Saxon [illegible] the [illegible] of the *General Index* [illegible] that they were more serious than those of Peninsular Spanish [illegible] He must also have enjoyed commenting that "Sir George Fox" had been [illegible] error by confusing folklore with mythology, and

[illegible] the original text, published in Manila in [illegible] relevant [illegible] [illegible] Dizon and [illegible] Philippines Press [illegible] [illegible] Dizon [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] of [illegible] the Spanish [illegible]

4 *FFF* [illegible] *FFF*, p. 8

5 [illegible]

some Castilian contemporaries had been in similar error by muddling [illegible] and [illegible].[6]

[illegible] Isabelo [illegible] not be able to determine the [illegible] [illegible] Spanish [illegible] [illegible] *Folklore Filipino* [illegible] *Bulletin de la Institution Libre de Madrid* [illegible] *Bulletin Hispanique* in Spain [illegible] research [illegible] Philippines that [illegible] his own work.

The Peninsularity, so to speak, of these [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] lined, as well as the Peninsularity of their research. Without explicitly saying so, Isabelo implied that no colonial Spaniards or clerics were doing anything comparable in the Philippines. This [illegible] permitted him to position himself as a far-ahead-of-the-colonial-masters pioneer of the new universal science. To explain this peculiar [illegible] Isabelo resorted to an ingenious device [illegible] made necessary by the violent, reactionary character of the clerically dominated colonial regime of [illegible]. He described a series of confrontations between the Manila press with liberal, middle-class, secularist, Protestant medical doctor and [illegible] who had [illegible] to avoid newspapers under the name Aste[illegible]. This [illegible] Isabelo's courage and [illegible] feeling [illegible] this [illegible] of success in the face of the [illegible] and [illegible] "Here the only things [illegible] weeds."[7] And when Aste[illegible] finally broke off their exchange in disgust, Isabelo, who had [illegible] the question of why [illegible] Orders [illegible] [illegible] Isabelo saw himself as bringing the light of modern Europe.

Newness came in still another guise in *El folk-lore filipino* [illegible] turned to the idea of *continuo*. The Introduction [illegible] discussion of the Lapeyre debate on the scientific status of folklore. Isabelo had fun noting that one factor of the Peninsularity of folklore research was his ability to turn *el folk lore* into a theoretical [illegible]

6 Dizon [illegible] p. 30

7 Isabelo [illegible] University of [illegible] *FFF*, p. 14

8 *FFF*, p. 14

could no longer understand one another—open

needed

more modest and more practical. At the other extreme were those

for some future museum of the past. Isabelo made clear

given the

absence of pre-Spanish monuments or inscriptions, and indeed

thing later I

saw no other way to proceed than to read between the lines of the

of their different langu

vor and so on. But comparison had proved to

Spanish conquest, the real history of the archi

its *pueblo pueblos* (here he hesitated often) stretched far further

radically distanced himself from many

new science could not and should not be

of the quaint *El folk-lore filipino* a

future contributions

in their own languages, but of which

the "unknownness" of the Philippines

tioned it to offer something, para

rubrics

contestar al revistero del *Comercio* y, aprovechando su

en Filipinas hubia

in the Philippines then exist enlightened [illegible] and [illegible] Nevers capable of undertaking the task. The published [illegible] completely [illegible] I tried to defend the extraordinary [illegible] by answering the accusation of the [illegible] of [illegible] by bravely stating that there [illegible] Filipino scholar [illegible] and expressed undertaking the task. Were Isabelo's thinking [illegible] sort of global reckoning which included the region's peoples as the Philippine Islands, and spoke of enlightened persons in the Philippines, not [illegible] specified—the translators have omitted "[illegible]" to create a [illegible] the Filipinos, and substituted for "enlightened persons" the vague "Filipino scholars."

FOREST BROTHERS

[illegible] Isabelo did not describe himself as a Filipino because the term meant yet [illegible] in his colors. Besides, *mi* [illegible] was [illegible] exactly what it was not [illegible]. He did however describe [illegible] as it became by never [illegible] the colonial [illegible] Spanish [illegible] in Isabelo's sense as an Ilocano. In a [illegible] Spanish of particular [illegible] exactly [illegible] and [illegible] only Ilocos and Ilocanos.

Everyone's [illegible] I believe I am here contributing to [illegible] of the past of my own [illegible] where however [illegible] structure had been so objectively that he had [illegible] scientific [illegible] Folklorists who complain that I have [illegible] the [illegible] attractive practices. Luckily, however, "I have received an enthusiastic response from many learned savants [*sabios*] in Europe, who say that, by science rather than a misguided patriotism, I have offered signal services to Ilocos, *mi patria adorada*, because I have provided scholars with abundant materials for studying its prehistory and other scientific topics relating to this . . . province [*sic*]."[13]

Rizal opened his enraged novel *Noli me tangere* with a celebrated Prologue addressed to his motherland, which included these words: "Desvando tu salud que es la nuestra y buscando el remedio, hare contigo lo que con sus enfermos los antiguos, esperando en los grados del templo para que cada persona que viniese de invocar a la Divindad les propusiese un remedio." Destroying your weal being, which is our own, and searching for the best cure for your disease, I will do with you as the ancients did with their

12. Dyson, Jesson, p. 13.
13. *LFF*, pp. 16 and 17.

[illegible] exposed them on the sides of the temples so that each one who [illegible] the Divinity would propose a cure." And in the last poem he wrote before his execution in 1896 he too spoke of his *patria adorada*. But was it Isabelo's?

There is a hint to sentence in the Introduction to *El folk-lore filipino* in which Isabelo described himself as "hermano de los salvajes, [illegible] y tinguianes" (brother of the forest peoples, the Aetas, the Igorots and the Tinguianes). These so called primitive peoples, most of them pagan before the twentieth century dawned, and many never subjugated by the Spanish colonial regime, lived and live in the long cordillera that flanks the narrow coastal plain of Ilocos. In his boyhood Isabelo would have seen them come down from the forests in their "[illegible] garb" to trade their forest products for lowland commodities. To this day a dialect of Ilocano is the lingua franca of the Gran Cordillera. No one else in Isabelo's time, certainly no one who counted himself an *ilustrado*, would have spoken in such terms of these forest dwellers who seemed in their untamed fastnesses, utterly remote from any urban, Hispanized, Catholicized habits. (And in these days Isabelo did not speak of any other ethnic groups in Las Filipinas as his *hermanos*.) Here one begins to see how it was possible for him to think of his province as a big [illegible] and *patria adorada*, since in the most concrete way it linked as brothers the "wild" paeans of the mountains and a man who won prizes in Madrid. Here also one detects an underlying reason why in his proto-nationalist sentiments Isabelo went to folklore rather than the novel or the broadsheet. Folklore, comparative folklore, enabled him to bridge the deepest chasm in colonial society, which lay not between colonizer and colonized—they all lived in the lowlands, they were all Catholics, and they dealt with one another all the time. It was the chasm between all of these people and those whom we would today call tribal minorities—hill people, nomadic swidden farmers, head hunters—men, women and children living at future or possibly violent assimilation, even extermination. Only a [illegible] child of William James, there thus existed a strange [illegible] brotherhood and an adopted father motherland for the young Isabelo.

STRANGE BEAUTIES

What were the deeper purposes of the folklorist's work in Las Islas [illegible]? Apart from its potential contributions to the modern [illegible] reconstruction of the character of primitive man, we can

14. José Rizal, *Noli me tangere*, Madrid: Instituto [illegible], 1886, frontispiece.

which have a clear political character. First, there is the [illegible] hope—of local cultural renaissance. With [illegible] allowed Astoll to speak on his behalf

> Perhaps folklore will provide an [illegible] for a Philippine poetry [illegible] poetry inspired by Philippine subjects [illegible] in the mind of Philippine bards [illegible] the mocking laughter of those braggarts who [illegible] such [illegible] you. But [illegible] them enough, for they also [illegible] of the [illegible] before the [illegible] Resurrection [illegible] and superstitious practices which you are making known [illegible] one day [illegible] great poets, and enthusiastic lovers of the strange beauties of this rich [illegible]

Elsewhere Isabelo quoted Astoll once again

> If Sr de los Reyes's studies and investigations make connections to pueblo [illegible] or is it perhaps even the Filipino one [illegible] expected solely by the hush strokes [illegible] they have for the future

Here Isabelo's work, printed in Madrid, could open up the [illegible] great flowering [illegible] before which [illegible] hope and [illegible] to [illegible] movements.

The second of Isabelo's purposes would be to stress the dominance of the Roman Church in the [illegible] and is best shown in a wonderfully deadpan chapter entitled "Holy Superstitions of the Tagalogs." It opens in this vein

> Taking advantage of the fact that [illegible] established by D. [illegible] D. Luis Montoro in Aragon, by D. [illegible] Hualte in Madrid, by D. José Pérez Bonester in Catalonia, by D. Luis Giner Arivau in Asturias, by [illegible] Pedrosa, [illegible] his *Tradiciones populares* [illegible] others I have drawn up the following list of superstitions which I believe were

---

15 *Eff* [illegible] Luna (1857–99) whom we shall meet again, was a fellow Ilocano who became the most [illegible] painter of the Spanish colonial era. His [illegible] *Spoliarium* [illegible] the same venue in 1884, and his *The Battle* [illegible] Fine Arts Exhibition in 1888. Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo (1853–1913) was [illegible] successful. He [illegible] Madrid and raised there like Luna [illegible]

introduced here by the Spaniards in past centuries. The list should not surprise anyone, given that in the early days of Spanish domination the most ridiculous beliefs [*las creencias más absurdas*] were [illegible]

Mischievously, the list begins thus:

> When a sister reaches the age of [illegible] seven years [illegible] an egg from which hatches a certain green lizard that kills the master [illegible] according to the Portuguese and French, however, [illegible] the master first, the latter will die, but that [illegible] master sees the snake [illegible] The Italians and the English [illegible] believe [illegible] basilisk that is hatched. Father Feijoo says: "It is true [illegible] concerning a sixteen-year-old girl [illegible] lies in an egg." The Portuguese and the Ilocanos [illegible] that what is in the egg is a scorpion.[17]

Other irresistible examples are these: [illegible] their guests' chairs. The Spaniards place a broom vertically behind a door, where the Portuguese put a shoe on a bench in the same spot. [illegible] throw [illegible] teeth that have fallen out [illegible] thrown onto the roof, so that new ones will grow. According to the proverb [illegible] Galicia, if a cat washes its face, it means that [illegible] The proverb [illegible] coming when it's cold and [illegible] in the Philippines [illegible] cockroaches for these [illegible] Sleeping with the head [illegible] east is bad for [illegible] Portuguese, Spaniards and Portuguese [illegible] good. All three agree that [illegible] south [illegible]

One can see why [illegible] would demonstrate the [illegible] folk artists [illegible] would demonstrate the [illegible] the colonialists sneered at [illegible] in terms of their as importations [illegible] own [illegible]

[illegible] p. 74. In successive [illegible] *Folk Literature* [illegible] *Folk Literature of the Tagalogs* [illegible] He [illegible] earlier work of his own described as a [illegible] *Folk Literature of the Tagalogs* [illegible] Philippines, as [illegible]

[illegible] *Ibid.* p. 5. Sorcery [illegible] *Folk Literature of the Tagalogs* [illegible] *Folk Literature of the Visayans* [illegible] *Folk Literature of the Bicolanos* [illegible] move out of Spanish into the other [illegible] Portuguese and the English [illegible] seems to have been [illegible]

beliefs had easy analogues in the bizarreries of Iberia, Italy, Central Europe even England

[illegible] must be [illegible] self-critical spirit He spoke of his work as being about [illegible] more serious than mocking my *paranoia*, who [illegible] be a mirror held up before a people, so that, in the future they could [illegible] Isabelo was writing for one and a half audiences Spaniards, whose language he was using, and his own *pueblo*, whose language he was not using, and of whom only a tiny minority could read his work

Where did Isabelo position himself in undertaking this task? At this juncture we finally come to perhaps the most interesting part of our enquiry For most of the hundreds of pages of his book, Isabelo spoke as if he were [illegible] outside his people The Ilocanos almost always appear as "they," not "we." For example "There is a belief among *los Ilocanos* that fire produced by lightning can only be extinguished by vinegar, not by water " Better still

> Los ilocanos no pueden darnos perfecta idea acerca de la naturaleza de los [illegible] tienen de los demonios. [The Ilocanos cannot give us a complete idea about the [illegible] Catholics' idea of what devils are]

Isabelo here placed himself in the ranks of world folklore's savants, peering down at "the Ilocanos" from above, and dispassionately distinguishing their [illegible] from the parallel credulities of "the Catholics "

At the same time, a number of passages have a rather different tonality At [illegible] of the exposition of his research results Isabelo wrote

> [illegible] y those from Ilocos Norte [Northern Ilocos], before starting [illegible] in the mountains, sing the following verse
>
> Bari, bari!
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]

> [illegible] mean *bari-bari* (an Ilocano interjection for which there is no equivalent in Spanish) do not get [illegible] we are [illegible] cutting because we have been ordered to do so

[illegible] positions himself firmly within the Ilocano world He knows [illegible] readers do not [illegible] what [illegible] Spaniards [illegible] Europeans as well [illegible] experience is closed Isabelo [illegible] who exists [illegible] readers see that [illegible] does not proceed by [illegible] The reader is confronted by an [illegible] Ilocano [illegible] something is stated with [illegible] which Spanish [illegible] equivalents The [illegible] perhaps the meaning is [illegible]

[illegible] perhaps expected, Isabelo [illegible] that his Spanish was not perfect and might be [illegible] by "dull-witted daubers" and "braggarts " He probably was [illegible] doubtful [illegible] and perhaps was soon to be [illegible] progress [illegible] future But he had *bari-bari* on [illegible] particular and [illegible] general [illegible] up his intellectual sleeve On this ground he could not be contested However he needed to show, or hint [illegible] perhaps This is the satisfaction of the tease Dear readers here's [illegible] for you to view but you cannot see what I permit you to see and there are some things that you are actually incapable of seeing

There is a [illegible] position, which [illegible] matters further In a chapter on Mass Songs and Dances Isabelo wrote the following

> The voices of the *dal-lot* are well worth knowing. The *dal-lot* is composed of eight-[illegible] with a special [illegible] following refrain
>
> Dal-laug aya daldal-lut
> Dal-lang ayà dumidinal-lot
>
> [illegible] for you because I do not know how [illegible] even though I can [illegible]

But it remains "well worth knowing" because it is a [illegible] perhaps even because it is inaccessible to the [illegible] himself Isabelo leaves it that No speaker is [illegible] nonetheless of the vastness of the [illegible]

[illegible] pp 2[illegible]

Three [illegible] stations therefore: Outside [illegible] complete idea. Inside there is no [illegible] Outside [illegible] not to "us"

COMPARATIVE REFLECTIONS

From the end of the eighteenth cen[illegible] haggard own, folklor[illegible] studies [illegible] seriously defined as such, have pro[illegible] powerful impulse for the development of [illegible] peasantries [illegible] scholarly [illegible] nationalist movements. In Europe they [illegible] [illegible] against [illegible] [illegible] styles and the[illegible] folk songs, urban poets [illegible] [illegible] ful and authentic past [illegible] always central. Norwegian folklorist [illegible] against Danish and Swedish) to [illegible] [illegible] Russia [illegible] Bohemia [illegible] Hungary [illegible] Russia [illegible] Serbia [illegible] [illegible] examples [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

abroad, they might acquire some [illegible]
does one detect any marked as[illegible]

[illegible] Even c[illegible] mainly oral [illegible]
[illegible] thing in Isabelo's writing
[illegible] of Spanish as a deep menace to the future of
[illegible] Castilian appeared to him as the necessary [illegible]
[illegible] only to Spain [illegible]
[illegible] thing that Isabelo never
considered the possibility that, by writing in Spanish, he was some[illegible]
[illegible] the roots, the
status of Las Islas Filipinas was visibly unstable, and some kind of political
emancipation was looming on the horizon.

[illegible]
ultimately grounded [illegible]
century earlier. Span[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] all the
indigenous languages in Latin America, and over an equally "eternal
[illegible] only in the United States. No emancipation visible on the
[illegible]

[illegible] as indicated above, there are instructive reticences in Isabelo
[illegible] marked by the uneasy pronominal slippages between *I*
and *they* [illegible] and *you*. He was always thinking about two audiences, every
[illegible] for one and a half. "The worst of men is the wretch who is not
[illegible] with that noble and sacred sentiment which they call patriotism."
[illegible]

2

Allá . . . Là-bas

Sunlit, but exactly why? Perhaps the best way to understand it is to contrast Isabelo's temperament, experience, and work with those of his distant Tagalog cousin José Rizal, which this chapter begins to do.

Isabelo was an ebullient, practical, hugely energetic man, not much given to introspection. He got married when he was twenty, and his first wife had already given successful birth six times when she died in tragic circumstances in the early spring of 1897. Subsequently, he married in succession a Spanish woman and a Chinese, both of whom died in childbirth, and both of whom gave birth nine [illegible] and cultural journalism, folklore studies, and various small business sidelines. [illegible] a surprised spectator. Even though his hostility to the Orders was patent, his writings do not seem ever to have got him to any serious political trouble. He was a *provinciano* who had made good in the colonial capital, and he was [illegible] at the age of thirty-three, and it was, as we shall see [illegible] was sent, in chains, to the torture fortress of Montjuich in Barcelona. The Europe he knew as a youngster came to him [illegible] books and magazines from friendly [illegible]

Rizal [illegible]

[illegible]

been written

in a wider context

Max Havelaar, the first major

year 1866 saw the publication of *Crime and*

by Dostoievsky (b. 1821) and T

Memorias po

blic of Letters have found their originality in trying to

Letters by challeng its premises in different styles

a surprisingly large pa

in French on Corneille's originality a later short piece from Berlin

sentences on Eugene Sue and

Schiller and quotations from Heine

correspondence

and Swift This list is unlikely to represent fully

colonial customs and poems on his return home

how central to his novelistic reading was France

stayed for part of the seven months he spent in the French capital in

h literary essays, along with a short text "Dimanche des

for the poor, and its decay when it fell into the hands of the rich

the National

dippines The irregular handwriting and the

give one the feelin

magnifique

This was the period when he started composing A
list France is represented by About (2), Ad
Ba
Fo
and Zo
Larra, Russia by Andreyev (
Turgenev and the Anglo-Saxons merely by Conan Doyle (2), Hagg
Henry (4), Kipling, Sme
Once again, I
ors are completely dominant.[6] The main dif

6. Pardo lived until 1925. Of the ninety-three books of fiction liste
Rizal's death. Only four go back
tion included almost no poetry and
only while Rizal's, as we shall see, had plenty of both.

in Pardo's, and the
f Spain in Rizal's
inconclusive background, it is time to see what
reveal. There are several surprises in store

NITROGLYCERINE IN THE POMEGRANATE

brilliance and the synoptic picture it gives of late-nine
Philippines
ation of marry
members of the Order
colonal administration. Maria Clara, who is revealed to be the child of an
scan friar, retires to
a convent and
aspired Rizal to write *Noli me tangere*'s sequel in such a parallel

A LEGACY FROM BALTIMORE[8]

For the title of the book I finished in 1998 I [illegible]

[illegible] *Nolli me tangere* [illegible]

[illegible] the seedy Tirdao Restaurant of Manila [illegible]

[illegible] Europe. It is not hard to see what [illegible]

[illegible] *femme* also works on the [illegible]

Paris and Berlin about a young man [illegible]

yonder Tio Manolo who is back to about [illegible]

Ravished by this complex image I [illegible]

Nolli me tangere [illegible]

[illegible] phrase that is both [illegible]

About that time [illegible] Paris [illegible]

[illegible] poems by Mallarmé [illegible]

Le Démon de l'analogie [illegible] "The Demon of the Analogy" [illegible]

composed in 1864 [illegible] published in *La Revue*

Moderne [illegible] *La Revue* [illegible]

March 28, 1865 [illegible]

[illegible] Paris [illegible]

[illegible] suggestion was disbelief. Though Rizal started

[illegible] when he entered the Ateneo, the remote

[illegible] Manila, it seemed unlikely that he would have been

able to [illegible] esoteric a text. But later the suggestion seemed

[illegible] worth looking into. It transpired that Mallarmé's title was a creative

[illegible] to "Le Démon de la perversité" [illegible]

Allan Poe's story "The Imp of the Perverse." This title [illegible]

8. See the exchange between Jonathan Culler and Ihab Hassan [illegible] Jonathan Culler and Pheng Cheah, eds., *Grounds of Comparison* (New York: Routledge, 2003) at pp. 40-41, 45-6, and 228-30.

9. See Richard Cook, trans., *Mallarmé: Selected Prose Poems, Essays and Letters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956), pp. 2-4, for a [illegible] version; the notes on the text, pp. 108-10, include a brief [illegible] parallels and resemblances with the [illegible] Baudelaire's Allan Poe translation, which can be found in his *Tales* [illegible]

10. Poe, *Tales* [illegible] Poe's story, told in the first person, [illegible] a perverse murder, but then is so driven by the urge to [illegible] the crime. The term "imp" has [illegible]

[illegible] Baudelaire [illegible] Poe's [illegible] Lopez

[illegible] catalogue (see note 28) not among Poe's [illegible] mention of Poe, Baudelaire, or Mallarmé [illegible]

A STUDENT OF HOMEOPATHY

Then came the second accident: the arrival on my desk of a draft article from the pioneering Gay Studies scholar Neil Garcia, of the University of the [illegible] Rizal [illegible] answered [illegible] the letters [illegible] *Tipos Manileños* (Manila Types).[13] There, in the [illegible] *tomo* titled "Tipos Manileños" (Manila Types).[13] There, in the [illegible] student Tadeo regales his country bumpkin cousin with scandalous gossip [illegible] Manila. At one point Tadeo comments thus:

11. Baudelaire's Poe translations were published as *Histoires extraordinaires* in [illegible]

[illegible] elegantemente vestido, no es más homeopata sui generis profesa en todo el similia similibus caballería que con él va, es su discípulo pr[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Why [illegible] questions became still more [illegible] the big facsimile edition of the original *El Filibuster*[illegible] had first w[illegible] [illegible] like *prim* to be pr[illegible] then we can translate the whole phra[illegible] he professes in matters of [illegible] principle that like rejoices in like", or [illegible] like gain happiness from like." [illegible] a strong word in Latin, expressing glad[illegible] [illegible] piness even rapture [illegible] *Rizal* thought better of this formulation. Actu[illegible] speaking, it absolutely did not fit the cynicism of the character Tadeo [illegible] [illegible] and morally speaking, it would [illegible] [illegible] candidacies in the Philippine[illegible]

[illegible] year 1877/78, when Rizal was [illegible] [illegible] was recalled that the lads there after [illegible] the gods and goddesses of Olympus [illegible]

[illegible] for *La* [illegible] which appeared in the [illegible] eds. *Ramón Emeterio* [illegible] *Betances* (Habana: Casa de la [illegible] in the second of th[illegible] word, the original spelling) in the second of th[illegible] newly appointed Captain-General of the [illegible]

Paquita se ponía más triste cada vez, pensando en co[illegible]
Tartan cochers pushan [illegible]
[illegible] of Isagani
reminded her of certain appellations which con[illegible]
themselves to explain a species of affection.

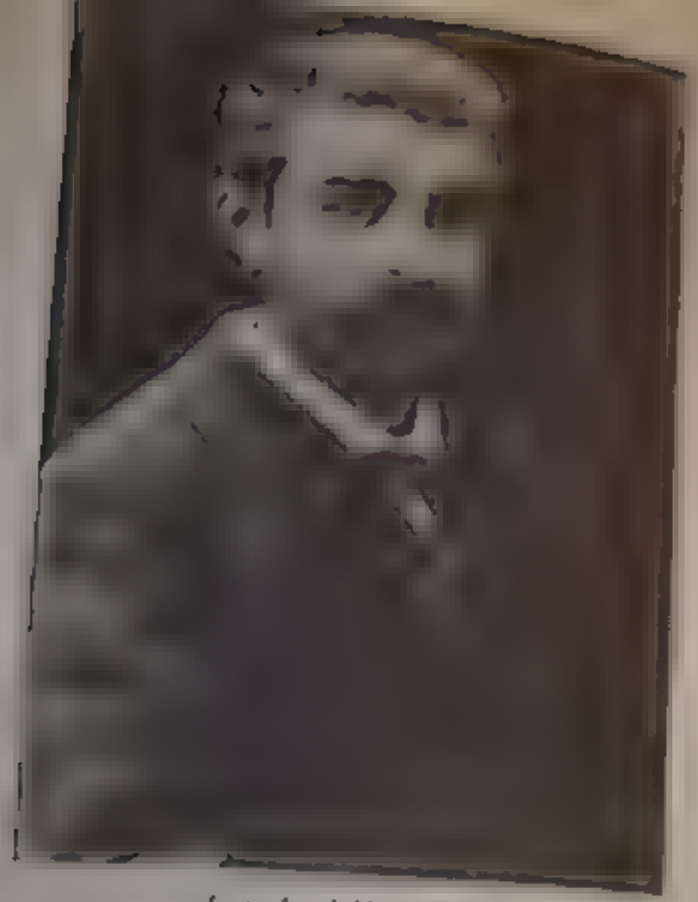
The masculine noun, along with the obvious sexual implications of being a "rader" [illegible] ended. One could [illegible] sociological [illegible]
of mum ("they" use among themselves)
[illegible]
means that Rizal inserted it at the last minute. Why [illegible]
[illegible] seems improbable. M[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] 1990b, p. 173. Emphasis in the original text)

[illegible] it set up. For the sexual mystic

LABAS

[illegible]
the same time [illegible] K[illegible] had to have [illegible]
the original French. Perhaps it was a sheer [illegible] Hawaiians [illegible] K[illegible]
had put homeopathy and homosexuality to[illegible]



Joris Karl Hu

[illegible] than seven years away from each oth[illegible]

[illegible] He also builds himself a weird, expensive bu[illegible] gned to expel Na[illegible]

[illegible] wealth and his power, from trafficking in rare an[illegible] stones. Another coincidence?

[illegible] of different types

[illegible]BERT AND A FUTURE MURDERER

A rebours wh[illegible] Des Esseintes takes as a [illegible] he mood, [illegible] long tema[illegible] one of po[illegible] ale monster combining a [illegible] made of black marble, [illegible] goat's [illegible] representing [illegible] far end of the [illegible] room, which is illumi[illegible] in a coal grate fire. The woman in bed with Des Esseintes, [illegible] d by her lover, then gives voice to the two statuettes' sepulchral con-versation, including a famous phrase from Flaubert's *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* (The Tempta[illegible] Saint Anthony): "Je [illegible] des parfums nouveaux, des fleurs plus larges, des plaisirs inéprouvés" (I seek new perfumes, ampler blossoms, untried pleasures).[24] At this point, as hoped and planned, Des Esseintes's virility comes back to life [illegible]

[illegible] Flaubert, *La Tentation de Saint* [illegible] (1883) the text [illegible] the last of Sa[illegible]

ess than seven years away fr

ing

d

d

French Third Repu

ncans, the low quality of popular

retreats into a private world of aesthetic fantasy cultivat

avant garde

weight of a

that Schoen the central f

FLAUBERT AND A FUTURE MURDERER

near-impotent Des Esseint

at's body and a screen Sphinx. These are placed at the

epresenting the

f the bedroom

n a coal-grate

nd by her lover then gives voice to the two statuettes' sepulchral con-

ersation including a famous phrase from Flaubert's *La Tentation de Saint*

the mummified head of an ancient male Egyptian s[illegible] past horrors endured at the hands of schemi[illegible] exactly replicate those once inflicted [illegible] doomed love Ma[illegible] Now This Dou[illegible] [illegible] Sphinx! (Sphinx!).[26] What is purely [illegible] word *Esinge!* (Sphinx!). What is purely [illegible] seems to have been transformed by R[illegible] chological political

Next there is the [illegible] scene where Des Esseintes picks up a [illegible] the street [illegible] to be initiated by Vanda, an experienced [illegible] While the boy is busy losing his putative virginity, Des Esseintes chats with the madam whom he knows very well. Says Madame Laure:

"Alors ce n'est pas pour ton compte que tu viens, ce soir [illegible] Mais où diable as-tu levé ce bambin?" "Dans [illegible] Tu n[illegible] ant pas g[illegible] la vieille dame. Puis, après réflexion, elle ajouta avec un sourire [illegible] "Je comprends, matin, dis donc, il te les faut jeunes, à toi." Des Esseintes haussa [illegible] épaules: "T[illegible] ant." [illegible] your own account that you've come tonight . . . but where the devil did you pick up that baby?" "On the street [illegible] is that I am simply preparing a murderer."]

Having denied any sexual interest in the lad, he then ex[illegible] will pay for the [illegible] sessions with Vanda for a [illegible] weeks and [illegible] [illegible] Des Esseintes's ultimate purpose is to create "un ennemi de plus pour cette [illegible] qui nous rançonne" (one enemy more for this hideous society which leads us to ransom). This is [illegible] corrupted teenager will not in himself change [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

> Des Esseintes n'y pensait plus sans frémir, jamais il [illegible] attirant, et un plus impérieux ferrage, jamais il n'avait [illegible] jamais aussi il ne s'était plus douloureusement satisfait [illegible] think of it again without shuddering, never had he endured a [illegible] more imperious captivity, never had he experienced such pe[illegible] been more painfully satisfied.[30]

One should not take these sentences out of [illegible]text. Des Esseintes, like Huysmans himself, is heterosexual, with a long string of mistresses. The affair with the boy appears to be part of a Flaubertian search for *plaisirs méprouvés*.

There is no equivalent to this episode in *El filibusterismo*, and [illegible] appears to be almost [illegible]. Yet [illegible] for the half bowdlerized description of the elegant "homeopathist" and his [illegible] disciple. The account in *À rebours* of Des Esseintes's avant-garde [illegible] poets [illegible] Mallarmé [illegible] Laforgue and Paul Verlaine (1842–96), and in a preface written for a reissue of the novel in 190[illegible] [illegible] Jules Laforgue [illegible] Arthur Rimbaud [illegible] 189) the same accolade had he published a collection of his p[illegible] the year *À rebours* originally came out. But Rimbaud's epoch-making *Les Illuminations* only appeared two years later, in 1886, just before *Poèmes saturniens*, and well after Rimbaud had abandoned poetry and [illegible]

Verlaine and Rimbaud had been "notoriously" tempestuous lovers in the 1870s, and some of their poems made clear references to their sexual [illegible]

30 *À rebours*, pp. 146–8; the passage quoted is on p. 14[illegible]

31 Rimbaud's flight from Europe is usually associated with the ten years he [illegible] references below.) It is nice to imagine 20-year-o[illegible] [illegible] *Rimbaud* (London: Paradise, 2000), chapter 25, Wallace [illegible]

[illegible] *Les Illuminations*, and his later frequent visits, his allusions to [illegible] [illegible] Given Rizal's sojourn [illegible] [illegible] to distant [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] under the title *Tipos parisienses* [illegible] with *Et l'abîme [illegible]*'s satirical "*Tipos [illegible]*." A [illegible] that Rizal's second novel came out in the [illegible] published his next avant garde bombshell, the satanic [illegible] translates nicely into Spanish as *Allá*

THE LUXURY OF FRENCH

So much for Huysmans, except to observe that *À rebours*, coming out in [illegible] 1884, was a huge *succès de scandale*, enraging especially the Catholic clergy and *bien-pensant* bourgeois society.[33] The 24-year-old Rizal arrived in Paris fourteen months later, and stayed there till January 1886, when he left for Germany. *À rebours* was still the literary talk of the town. We know what Rizal did in Paris except to take classes [illegible] surgeon. But he lived with close Filipino friends [illegible] Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, but also the painter Juan Luna [illegible] the largest city [illegible] and were more fluent in French.[34]

Rizal once said [illegible] written the quarter of [illegible] Paris.[35] He later [illegible] considered writing [illegible] reach a wider and more [illegible] with Rizal's [illegible] Noli reached

[illegible]

[illegible] and his paisanos no respondieran [illegible] When I asked [illegible] the reason [illegible] the objectives of the work.][36]

In a letter of July 4, 1890, Blumentritt wrote to Rizal: "Ich sehe mit [illegible] where, three years earlier, in 1888, James Ensor had finished his extraordinary [illegible] *Christ's Entry into Brussels, 1889*, which has a very Rizalean mixture of biting social satire, caricature, romanticism, and rebellion. Definitely a coincidence, but a nice one.

WRITING REVENGE

A [illegible] insight came to me as I was doing research on the great Dutch writer Eduard Douwes Dekker (pen name Multatuli, c.1820–87) and [illegible] novel *Max Havelaar*, which was first published in [illegible] and translated into German, French, and English in the 1860s and 1870s. It remains one of the first anticolonial novels based on [illegible] experience in a colony. *Max Havelaar* is also, among other [illegible] [illegible] Dekker [illegible] forced her out [illegible] [illegible] *Max Havelaar* [illegible] [illegible] Dekker [illegible]

Das Buch Multatuli's, welche ich dir send
ausserordentlich reizend. Kein Schweiz
Nur, da der Verfasser selbst ein Niederländer ist, su
wie meine; aber es ist viel künstlicher, viel feiner
Niederländischen Leben auf Java entblösst [Mult
as soon as I can obtain a copy, is extraordinarily excit
superior to my own. Still, because the author is hi
not as powerful as mine. Yet the book is much mo
my own, although it only exposes one aspect of Dutch li

Rizal thus recognized the affinities between his
Dekker's, though they were written a quarter of a century apart.
very strong probability that the young Filipino found in *Max Ha*
example of how a novel could be powerfully written to take a
political, and personal, revenge. Evidence for this argument will b
in the following chapter, where *El filibusterismo* is

THE CHILDREN OF RODOLPHE

A fine article by Paul Vincent not only makes explicit compar
Havelaar, *Noli me tangere* and *El filibusterismo*, but points out that Do
Dekker, contemptuous of the Dutch literary world of his time, revered
English and Victor Hugo, Dumas *pere*, and Eugene Sue in French. Vin
comments that the heroes Max Havelaar and Crisostomo Ibarra clearly descen
by separate lines, from the "socialist" aristocrat Rodolphe whom Sue (1804-57
made the hero of his 1844-45 blockbuster *Les Mystères de Paris*.[40] Like Rizal
Douwes Dekker, Sue started out as a dandy, but he underwent a politica

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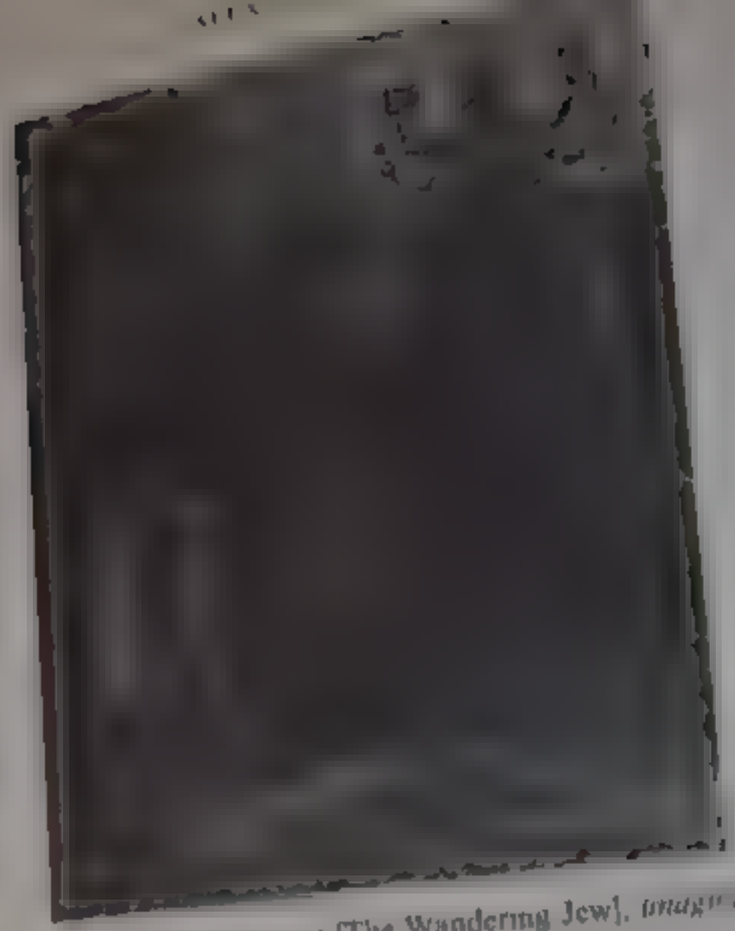
Letter contained in *Cartas entre Rizal y el Profesor*
in *Corresp*
ween 1889 and 1891 Rizal's family was financially
ulon

(Further Reflections o

Jean Louis Bor



Lithograph from Le Juif Errant [The Wandering Jew], *imagi*

Sue benefited from, and exploited, the innovation of
serialized in competitive daily newspapers, which created his
(His works were rapidly translated into all the major
languages.) Newspaper publishers encouraged gifted writers to
intrigue exotica
moralizing populist politics.[42] (Needless to say these
Louis Napoleon

errant (The Wandering Jew) which appeared over 1845 and [illegible] interested me because its sprawling structure [illegible] Jesuit whose tentacles stretch as far as Siberia, North Am[illegible] Java[43] Rizal's novels have almost all these structural and [illegible] though neither was serialized. But it will be recalled that [illegible] were ten works by Sue, far more than by any other writer. T[illegible] that he was not shrewdly critical of his predecessor.

Dumas *père* (1803–70) was another master of the *roman* [illegible] his *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, the story of Edmond Dantès [illegible] imprisoned for many years by a conspiracy of his enemies, who [illegible] disguised as the Count of Monte Cristo, to take vengeance on them. [illegible] it were, those of Ibarra and Simoun rolled into one. Coincidence? [illegible] In his *Memorias de un estudiante de Manila*, written under the pen [illegible] Jacinto in 1878, sixteen-year-old Rizal recalled that he had read *El Conde de Montecristo* at the age of twelve, "saboreando los sostenidos dialog[illegible] deleitándose en sus bellezas, y siguiendo paso a paso al héroe [illegible] venganzas" (savoring its sustained dialogues, delighting in its beau[illegible] following step by step the hero and his revenges).[44] But [illegible] Dumas was much interested in the depredations of [illegible] personism, and their characters' revenges are basically personal and m[illegible] tropolitan.

43 The text available to me is a three-volume 1889 English translation, run[illegible] to over 1,500 pages and published in London and New York by George R[illegible] and Sons. This edition has terrific nineteenth-century-style illustrations. The Jesuit depicts a trade both a sneaky Dutch colonial businessman and a skillfully murderous thug on the lam from the East India Company. Governor General W[illegible] Bentinck had launched an extermination campaign against the thugs, a band of professional stabbers and murderers who typically kill their victims by strangling them in ritual. A little more than a decade before *Le Juif errant* began, [illegible] Battle Proudhon [illegible] Dutch rule in the Indies [illegible]

Rizal tells us that he bought a Spanish translation of his [illegible] pesetas, while paying another 2.50 pesetas for works by Dumas père. Horace Se[illegible] entry for January 6, 1884, of his *Diario de Madrid* in *Diario y memorias* [illegible] January 28 he recorded that he had just finished the book and offered to p[illegible] [illegible] novel [illegible] No hay un corazón como el de la hija de [illegible] LAMARTINE. Se impone la [illegible] sentimiento [illegible] sus personajes [illegible] novela [illegible] novela es una de aquellas que [illegible] Se nos [illegible] conmueve [illegible] tiernos corazones [illegible] LAMARTINE. Se impone [illegible] [illegible] Se [illegible] [illegible]

44 *Obras completas* [illegible]

LAUGHTER AND SUICIDE

And Mother Spain." Earlier in this chapter, attention was drawn to the absence of any Spanish novels, aside from *Don Quixote*, in Rizal's personal library and their heavy presence in that of his philological friend Trinidad Pardo de Tavera. Part of the explanation is the difference in life span between the two men. Blasco Ibañez (b. 1867) and Pío Baroja (b. 1872) who figure prominently in Pardo's library were of Rizal's generation but did not become famous until well after he died. Pardo, however, survived his friend by thirty years. But this kind of explanation cannot be applied to the case of Benito Pérez Galdós (1843–1920), the so-called Spanish Balzac, often said to be the country's greatest novelist after Cervantes. What Sue was for Rizal's library, Galdós was for Pardo's. Is it really conceivable that Rizal never read a single story of Galdós's colossal novelistic output? It is certain that in his voluminous writings he never mentioned the older man's name. But many scholars have pointed to the striking similarities between *Noli me tangere* and Galdós's *Doña Perfecta*, published in 1876 when the Filipino was fourteen years old. *Doña Perfecta*, a short novel by Galdós's standards, is indeed about a poetically innocent liberal engineer who is destroyed by the religious fanaticism of his provincial relatives with the Church behind her. *Noli me tangere* is by no means implausible to speculate that Rizal had partly in mind just this "anticolonial" project to beat the most famous metropolitan novelist on his own terrain, without of course acknowledging the debt of the sort. All the more satisfying, perhaps, in that Galdós, though a liberal, had nothing to say about Spanish imperialism. Hence, as a Filipino critic of Galdós, Rizal in turn had nothing to say about Galdós.[45]

But then there is Rizal's unquenchable laughter, something extremely rare in anticolonial literature. This laughter—which is not just a matter of razor-sharp epigrams and mordant sallies, but so suffuses both novels that the reader often feels like giggling out loud—cannot be traced to Hugo, Dumas, Sue, or Galdós, for none of whom was laughter a strong suit. Douwes Dekker could be killingly funny, but Rizal only read him after [illegible]

45 Over [illegible] Leopoldo Alas (pen name Clarín) nine years older than Rizal published his most important novel, *La regenta* (The Lady Regent), a stunning anticlerical, penetrating study of social life in provincial Spain. [illegible] published now to large academic and *bien pensant* circles. Rizal was [illegible] to Madrid till the late summer of 1885, when he left for France and Germany. [illegible] would certainly have known a sensational novel, even if the [illegible] Rizal never mentioned it in his writings. As in the case of Alas, [illegible] unfortunate, but *La regenta* is a [illegible] from Pardo de Tavera's library, so [illegible] this may be more [illegible]

tangere was published, Part of R[illegible] comedy of colonialism itself. In the Epilogue to [illegible] old Filipino wrote

> Viviendo aún muchos de nuestros personajes, y habiend[illegible] otros, es imposible un verdadero epilogo. Para bien de [illegible] gusto á todos nuestros personajes, empezando p[illegible] Victorina, pero no es possible . . . Que [illegible] alimentar al fin [illegible] [Since many of our characters are st[illegible] sight of others, a true epilogue is not possible. [illegible] happy [illegible] of all our personages, starting with Padre Salvi and finishing [illegible] Doña Victorina, but this is not possible . . . let them live! In the end, the [illegible] and not we, will have to feed them . . .][46]

As I have said elsewhere, this kind of authorial play with readers, characters and "reality," is quite uncharacteristic of most serious nineteenth-century European fiction. But it reminds one instantly of Machado de Assis's M[illegible] *tas póstumas de Blas Cubas*, published only five years earlier. The novel came to the Filipino as to the Brazilian [illegible] a miraculous novel with which it was possible to play, as Debussy would do with the gamelan music of the Javanese.

At the same time it is known that after Cervantes [illegible] whom Rizal was most attached was Mariano José de Larra, who [illegible] 1809 and died [illegible] twenty-eight years later.[47] Dubbed [illegible] Anacephalic, liberal-radical writer stepped back and forth across the barn divide between journalism and fiction, politics always there. Everything could be mocked, but not long-distance. Larra's hilarious, sharply

46. *Noli me tangere*, p. 35[illegible]

47. In a letter to his sister Saturnina and Mariano Ponce [illegible] 1888 Rizal [illegible] on April 30 he [illegible] Larra's [illegible] London [illegible] those [illegible] Conservatives [illegible] Mariano [illegible] Works. However [illegible] Mariano José de Larra [illegible] Rizal [illegible] Mariano Ponce [illegible] pp. [illegible]

[illegible] Madrid society under the terror [illegible] Fernando VII including unforgiving monsters of [illegible] shown Rizal what it was possible to emulate and surpass for the delight [illegible] society of colonial Manila.

COLLABORATION AND EMULATION

The bases [illegible] between the work of Isabelo de los Reyes and Rizal lay in the very genres that they adopted. In the world of global ethnology and [illegible] studies [illegible] which Isabelo attached himself, the basic genres were [illegible] professional and [illegible] was subordinated to what all participants understood as a world enterprise [illegible] which each gave his or her own [illegible] Isabelo thought there was [illegible] *magnum opus* to ethnological coherence [illegible] Spain and [illegible] texts of Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish [illegible] Spanish [illegible] Europe [illegible] key word [illegible] to Europe.

But [illegible] books [illegible] Bible and the [illegible] world of [illegible] Spanish, French, Latin, and even Hebrew. [illegible] Yet we can [illegible] the authors' ambivalence [illegible] Sue and Laura Dar[illegible] [illegible] Geddes and P. [illegible] Hernandez and Cervantes [illegible] published [illegible] 1892 [illegible] published [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] pp. [illegible]

48. This may be the appropriate [illegible] Rizal [illegible] November [illegible] He [illegible] the Philippines was [illegible] Barcelona [illegible] In Cuba [illegible] there were six small libraries and [illegible] Larra's thousand [illegible] Rizal [illegible] Better [illegible] Mary Shelley [illegible] Many people have [illegible] the great French chemist [illegible] Schools [illegible] See [illegible] *Lettres à quelques Français* [illegible] pp. [illegible]

chapter is correct, one could say that in his novels the imp-dem[illegible] Baudelaire Mallarmé became the *demonio de los comparac*[illegible] colonized intellectual; Dumas's "sustained dialogues" were remade [illegible] debates about the paths to freedom, Sue's panorama of the social structure Paris was refigured into a synoptic diagnosis of the ills of colonial soc[illegible] and so on. But nothing shows Rizal's creativity better than the man[illegible] which the avant-garde aesthetic of Huysmans was b[illegible] radically transformed to stimulate the political imag[illegible]nation of young F[illegible]pino anticolonial nationalists to come.

4[illegible] *ed.* [illegible] Are [illegible] nt should also be made. The persons who bor[illegible] the [illegible] y Rizal's parents. We can get an idea of [illegible] by Rizal between June 21 and Au[illegible] [illegible] He describes going to N[illegible]re Dame and being [illegible] of the Tr[illegible] Ro[illegible] [illegible] He makes a pilgrimage to the [illegible] [illegible] He wanders [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] Rosa [illegible] Mariano Ve[illegible] Rosa as Vin Dixes Ro[illegible] [illegible] He [illegible] the Musée de [illegible] [illegible] Zola Arabi Pasha [illegible] Bismarck [illegible] Tars [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] His parents [illegible] [illegible]

3

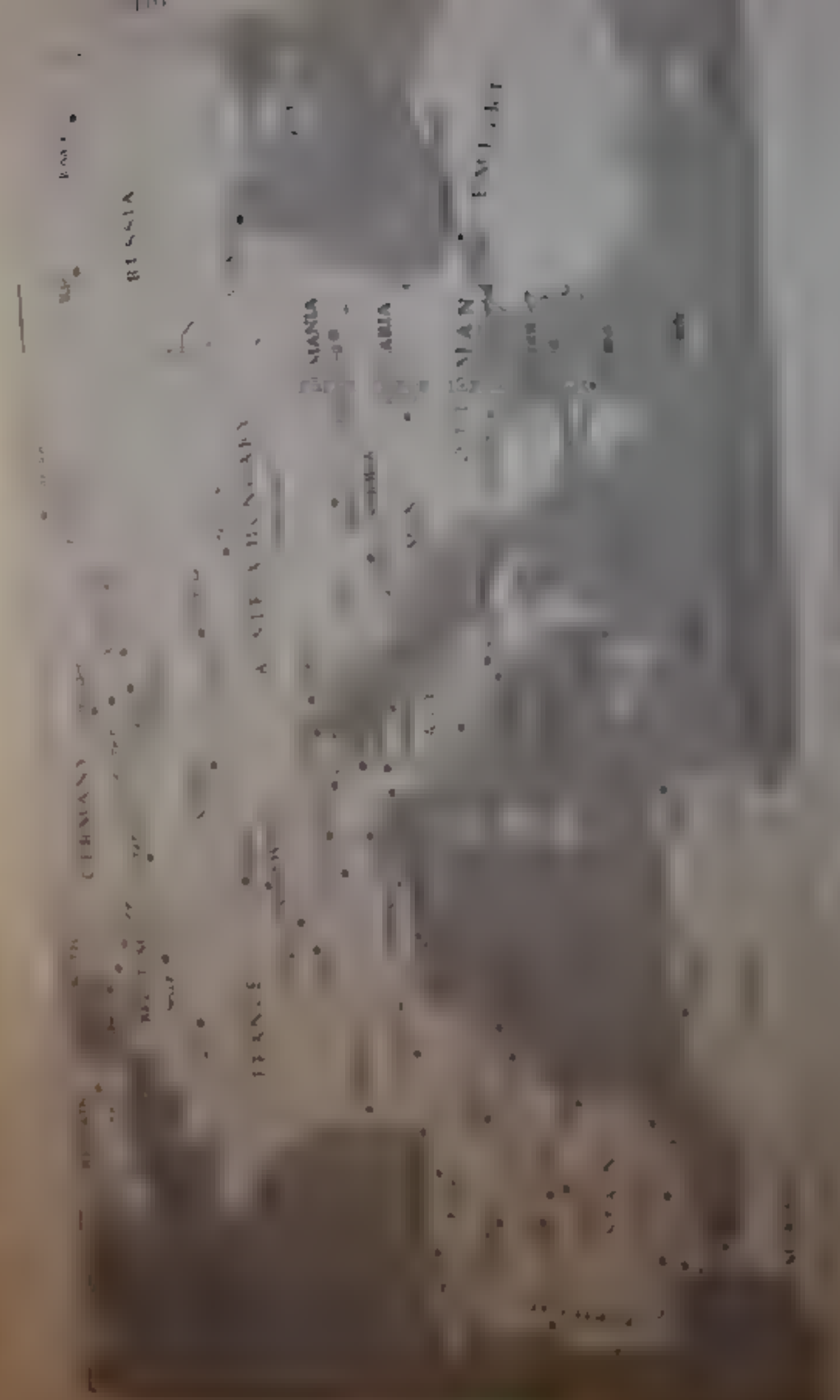
In the World-Shadow of Bismarck and Nobel

By the time *Fe[illegible]* was published (1891) Rizal had been in Eur[illegible]pe for almost ten years and had learned the two master languages of the subcontinent, German and French, as well as some English. He had also used for extended periods as Paris, Berlin, and London. He substituted his second major novel, *El filibusterismo*, with good political reason, as will be shown later on. But seen from another aspect, it is *Noli me tangere* that is a *novela marital*. The *filibusterismo* could well be termed a *novela marital*. The former has no characters who are not either colonizers or colonized, but in the latter we have already noted the appearance of a French vaudeville troupe in Manila as well as that of Mr Leeds, the *cordatero ranqu*[illegible] who is said to be fluent in Spanish because of long residence in South America. A key character is the vastly rich Capitán Tiago Quiroga, who plans to set up a local consulate for his *nación*. Furthermore, the book is littered with casual references to Egypt, Poland, Peru, Germany, Russia, Cuba, Persia, the Canaries, Ceylon, the Moluccas, Libya, France, China, and Japan, as well as Arabs and Portuguese, Canton and Constantinople.

Yet compared with *Noli me tangere*, which has been translated into a good number of languages and is widely known and loved in the Philippines, *El filibusterismo* is relatively unregarded. At one level, this neglect is easy to understand. The novel has no real hero, while *Noli me tangere* has at least one and perhaps three. Women play no central role and are barely sketched as characters, while three of the most powerfully imagined figures in [illegible] seem to belong to what Rizal called the "bello sexo". The plot and [illegible] *El filibusterismo* are stories of failure, defeat, and death. The [illegible] darker, the politics more central, and the style more sardonic. [illegible] that if the Father of the Philippine Nation had not written the [illegible]

have had few readers in the Philippines, let alone elsewhere, up until today. Yet it is an astonishing work in many ways. For Filipino intellectuals and scholars it has been a puzzle, not least because they have been [illegible] by its apparent lack of correspondence with what is known about [illegible] colonial society in the 1880s. The temptation therefore has been to [illegible] "morally" in terms of its author's real-life ambivalence toward anti-[illegible] revolution and political violence (which will be touched on later). But at least some of these difficulties may be reduced if we consider the text as global as less than local.

To create such a multisecular perspective [illegible] inevitably be that of [illegible]. The [illegible] experience of the young Rizal before he set off to Europe in 1882. Afterward [illegible] Three intersecting "worlds." The first, only in time, is the inter-state system of 1860-90, which was dominated by Bismarck. Crushing Prussian military victories over Austro-Hungary at Königgrätz in 1866, and over France at Sedan in 1870, not only made his Prussia the master of continental Europe and created the German Empire, but put an end to monarchism in France, destroyed the temporal power of the Papacy, and launched his country as a late-comer imperialist in Africa, Asia, and Oceania. Rizal's *Noli me tangere* was published in Berlin only three years before the world saw [illegible] from power. Yet at the same time, on the periphery, [illegible] Japan and post-Civil War America were preparing themselves [illegible] from different directions, Europe's world-hegemony [illegible] was that of the global Left. Thanks in part to Bismarck [illegible] that has never happened again – the fall of the (then) [illegible] world civilization" into the hands of its populace. The [illegible] nations all over the planet. Its savage [illegible] afraid of the *communards* than of [illegible] Marx opened the way for the rise of [illegible] century was the main [illegible] democracy, latifundism [illegible]



vehemence and social support, while at the same time beginning to [illegible] serious contacts with one another.

As the chapter proceeds towards its concluding period [illegible] the interrelation between these worlds becomes [illegible] more intricate and respectful crisscrossing between Spain, France, Italy, Russia, the Caribbean, the United States and the Philippines—even if this tries the reader's patience.

PASSAGE TO EUROPE

In 1833 a dynastic crisis occurred in Spain that gave rise to two successive civil wars and haunted the country to the end of the century. In that year the ferociously reactionary Fernando VII [illegible] and deposed by Napoleon, but restored by the Liberty Alliance. He died [illegible] leaving his throne to his three-year-old Infanta Isabel. Her Neapolitan mother became Regent. Fernando's younger brother Carlos, however, disputed the succession [illegible] 1830 pablo [illegible] of the Salic [illegible] [illegible] Russia, [illegible] of the House of Bourbon (Nueva Angeles [illegible]) [illegible] Duke of Cádiz and soon became accustomed to [illegible] elsewhere. On coming of age, she moved away from her [illegible] under the sway of some diehard conservative [illegible] corrupt and ramshackle regime.

In its last [illegible] finally fell, in September 1868, the Queen [illegible] her republican enemies to the Philippines [illegible] on the fictitious island of Cerne [illegible] Madrid. By the [illegible] that followed her abdication and flight to France [illegible] that Madrid's creoles and [illegible] Francisco Serrano, Manuel Regalado and José María [illegible] organized a plebiscite [illegible] representative. In June 1869 the [illegible] Cortes [illegible] Madrid's de Torre took over as the new Captain General [illegible] the Peninsular colonial state.

[illegible] *The* [illegible] *Philippine Free*

[illegible] *Quezon City* [illegible]

[illegible] *Philippine Free*

[illegible] into his palace to drink [illegible] the streets of Manila in everyday [illegible] encouraged [illegible] press censorship [illegible] flogging as a punishment in the [illegible] provinces of Cavite by [illegible] in Manila's neighboring [illegible] special police force.[2] The following year [illegible] Minister Segismundo Moret issued decrees [illegible] University of Santo Tomas under state [illegible] control of their parishes at defiance of their [illegible] This same year then set off what became a ten-year insurrection [illegible] in Cuba under the capable leadership of the well-to-do landowner Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, who at one point controlled the eastern half of the island.[4]

[illegible] Madrid [illegible] the decision to install Amadeo of Savoy as the new [illegible] the political winds started to shift.[5] In December [illegible] Minister [illegible] Juan Prim y Prats, who had led the assault on [illegible] and then largely engineered Amade's accession, was assassinated. Accordingly, in April 1871, de la Torre was replaced by the conservative General Rafael de Izquierdo, who had Moret's decrees suspended, [illegible] abolished the traditional exemption from corvée labor for workers in the naval shipyards of Cavite. On February 20, 1872 a mutiny broke out there in which seven Spanish officers [illegible] Izquierdo followed up by arresting hundreds of creoles and mestizos—

2. Guerrero, *The* [illegible]

3. John N. Schumacher, [illegible] (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila [illegible])

4. Guerrero observes that [illegible] armed truce, cost Spain 700 [illegible] the pledge of autonomy [illegible] agreement with [illegible] Cubans to [illegible] North America [illegible] *The Philippines* [illegible] Spain [illegible] Press in Wo[illegible] Philippines [illegible] Manila [illegible] Philippines [illegible] Manila [illegible] Wilcox [illegible]

more intricate, and requires a [illegible]
Russia, the Caribbean, the Unit[illegible]
tries the reader's patience

PASSAGE TO EUROPE

In 1833 a dynastic crisis occurred in Spain that gave [illegible]
civil wars and haunted the country to the end of [illegible]
[illegible] Carlos, h[illegible]
succession, claiming that the 1830 public abrogatio[illegible]
prohibiting women from becoming sovereigns [illegible] man[illegible]
to rob him of his inheritance. Raising an army in the [illegible]
[illegible] uneasy truce. The Re[illegible]
circle turned, for financial as well as political reasons, to [illegible]
support, and by a measure of far-reaching con[illegible]
expropriated the property of all the po[illegible]
married off to the "effeminate" Duk[illegible]
[illegible] where they [illegible] abdication [illegible]
[illegible] young Joaquín Pardo de Tavera, Antonio María [illegible]
María Bou—the latter two later to become good friends of [illegible]
[illegible] General Carlos María de la Torre took over [illegible]

[illegible] lesser [illegible]

[illegible] administration. Most of [illegible] were eventually deported to [illegible] abetted by some conservative friars [illegible] example of three liberal secular priests [illegible] creoles José Burgos and Jacinto Zamora [illegible] Mariano Gomez were garroted in the presence of [illegible] people. Rizal's beloved teenage sweetheart [illegible] in Burgos's house was forced to [illegible] into being [illegible] formal education.

Six months later [illegible] shipyards and barracks were [illegible] Numerous people were affected [illegible] an irresistible [illegible] Scott quotes Izquierdo [illegible] than a thousand [illegible] machiavellian leader [illegible] spread its black wings [illegible] Lukban's [illegible] banished by the Governor [illegible] had made special [illegible] organ *La Solidaridad* [illegible] Oceania and [illegible]

Many years [illegible] Rizal wrote [illegible] been for 1872 Rizal [illegible] *Noli me tangere* would [illegible] Rizal's prime [illegible] shame of a [illegible] the second [illegible] Rizal. In 1891, he dedicated *El filibusterismo* to the memory of the three martyred priests. When asked in 1887 by his American friend [illegible] Ferdinand Blumentritt what the meaning [illegible] of the odd word *filibuster* he replied

[illegible]

[illegible] shore of Cespedes's Carousel [illegible] Ocean to Manila.[10]

10 *The Rizal Blumentritt Correspondence Vol I*, [illegible] Historical Institute, 1992), fifty [illegible] sixth nonombre [illegible] ter p 6 [illegible] March 29 1887, from Berlin

11 F[ernando] Larruda del Marmol, "Aux inquisiteurs [illegible] *Revue Blanche*, 12.88 (1 February 1 [illegible] 117 20 On p [illegible] the "inquisiteurs modernes" in S[illegible] mêmes la torture, les exécution[illegible] perdre demeure à Cuba [illegible] fran[illegible]

In the late spring of 1882, the twenty-year-old Rizal left his [illegible] study in Spain concerning his plan from his parents, but supported [illegible] adored brother Paciano and a sympathetic uncle. How was [illegible] The Mercados were a cultivated, Spanish-and-Tagalog-speaking [illegible] mixed "Malay," Spanish, and Chinese descent. They were [illegible] perous family in their town of Calamba (today [illegible] Manila), yet their wealth was fragile, as they did not own much land [illegible] rented substantial tracts from the huge local Dominican hacienda [illegible] world sugar prices were still high, but would crash at the dep[illegible] lasted from 1883 to 1887. The family would [illegible] could to lose, but it was never [illegible] hard make ends meet.

In any case, early in June, Rizal disembarked from the D[illegible] luxury vessel *D jemnah* at Marseilles before proceeding to Ba[illegible] and then to Madrid to enrol as a student at Central Universit[illegible] The first disagreeable downward shock was, as he wrote h[illegible] family:

> Yo me paseaba por aquellas calles anchas y limpias adoquinadas como en Mani[illegible] llenas de gente, llamando la atencion de todo el mundo, que [illegible]

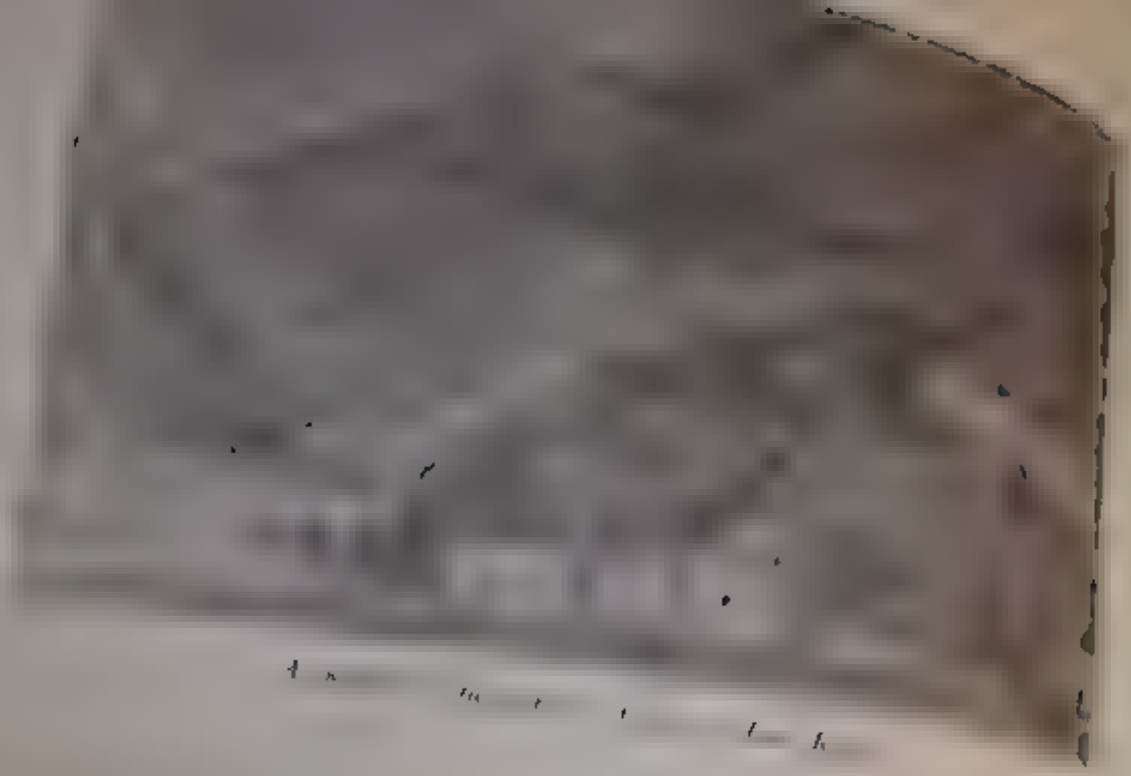
Il cont'd already proudly calling themselves "filibu[illegible] traveled to Mad[illegible] of high [illegible] before being assigned to the Ph[illegible] archipelago. Valeriano We[illegible] Mercado—Eulogio Despujol (1891-93), Ramon Blanco [illegible] Polavieja (1896-97) had al[illegible] the Caribbean [illegible] to Santo Domingo, the others [illegible]

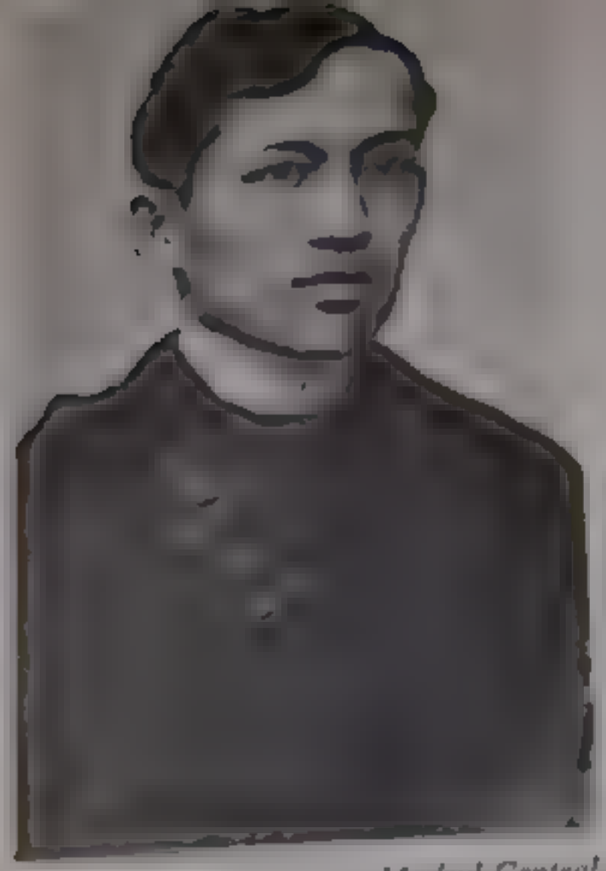
[illegible] men mainly among veterans of the [illegible] patriotic rehabilitation thanks to his public [illegible] e-and-blue, star-and-stripes flag he designed [illegible] nation's national flag today. See Hugh Tho[illegible] Brunswick, NJ: Harper & Row, 1971).

Jose Rizal as a young boy

[illegible] Filipino. Pobre país! Nadie tiene noticia de [illegible] in Manila [illegible] 6! [I walked along those wide, clear [illegible] Chinese [illegible] people [illegible] Indian [illegible] Spanish [illegible] Americ[illegible] Indian [illegible] Japan. Unfortunate [illegible] country—nobody knows a thing about you!]"

In Madrid, he was to be asked by fellow students w[illegible] the Philippines [illegible] would by the United Kingdom or by Spain and [illegible] was [illegible] from Manila. Yet the [illegible] which the Spanish [illegible] to his country was soon to [illegible] consequences. In [illegible] but the Spanish state never [illegible] the [illegible] Philippines [illegible]





Jose Rizal during his student years at Madrid Central University.

[illegible] Spanish [illegible] Chinese [illegible] Philippines [illegible] and [illegible] were [illegible] Rizal and [illegible] referred to the [illegible] generally discussed [illegible] or assumed. Note [illegible] Rizal [illegible] were other [illegible] back home [illegible] Philippines [illegible] the first Asian [illegible] Madrid in the late [illegible] were [illegible] or mixed [illegible] [illegible] (The same process has produced [illegible]

[illegible] contemporary Anglo categories "Asians" and "Asian Americans".) On April 13, 1887, Rizal would write to Blumentritt thus.

> Wir müssen alle der Politik etwas opfern, wenn auch wir keine Lust daran [illegible] Das [illegible] Leute welche in Madrid unsere Zeitung [illegible] diese Freunde sind alle Jünglinge creolen, mestizen und [illegible] wir [illegible] Philippiner [All of us have to make sacrifices [illegible] purposes even when we have no inclination to do so. This is [illegible] by my friends who publish our newspaper in Madrid: these friends are all youngsters, creoles, mestizos, and Malays, (but) we ca[illegible] [illegible] Filipinos][17]

[illegible] (colonially) is contrasted to what they "call themselves" (publicly) in the metropole. But there is actually a further elision, since [illegible] these mestizos were Chinese not Spanish. (Indeed the Chinese mestizos

[illegible] *Sociedad Literaria* [illegible] Vera [illegible] p.

[17] See *The Rizal Blumentritt Correspondence 1886–1889*, p. 72. [illegible] recognize that the German word *Pflicht* [illegible] is uncontaminated by [illegible] sounds *filipino*. It is clearly and simply (protomanoan)

[illegible] hammered Spanish mestizos in the Philippines [illegible] involved probably explains why their newspaper [illegible] fully and unmindful of the International *La Solidaridad*. [illegible] suggest that Filipino nationalism really had its location [illegible] Spain rather than in the Philippines.

For four years Rizal studied hard at Madrid's Central University [illegible] summer of 1885, he had received his doctorate in philosophy and letters [illegible] would have done the same in medicine if his money had not run [illegible] Rizal's execution at the end of 1896. Miguel de Unamuno, who [illegible] years younger than the Filipino entered the philosophy and letters [illegible] years before him, and graduated in 1884, claimed, perhaps truthfully, [illegible] had, so to speak, seen him around during those student days.[19] But [illegible] purpose of this investigation, the most significant event occurred at the beginning of Rizal's senior year (1884–85) when Miguel Morayta, his history professor and Grandmaster of Spanish Masonry, delivered an inaugural address that was a blistering attack on clerical obscurantism and a [illegible] defense of academic freedom.[20] The scholar was promptly excommunicated by the Bishop of Avila and other mitre wearers for heresy and [illegible] Spanish tradition and culture. The students went [illegible] Morayta's behalf and were quickly supported by fellow students at the [illegible] universities in Granada, Valencia, Oviedo, Seville, Valladolid, Zaragoza, Barcelona.[21] The government then sent in the police, and many students were arrested and/or beaten up. Rizal later recalled that he had only escaped [illegible] by hiding in Morayta's house and assuming three different disguises.[22] As we

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18. It is very striking that the words *mestizo* [illegible] *Noli me tangere* at all, and only once, in passing, in *El filibusterismo*. There are [illegible] characters whom one can assume are such mestizos, but Rizal is careful not to mention their give-away surnames. Sadly enough, Spanish prejudices against the Chinese were imbibed by the young anticolonial elite.

19. Mentioned in the Mexican Leopoldo Zea's illuminating introduction [illegible] Venezuelan edition of *Noli me tangere* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1976) [illegible] citing the "Elogio" (Eulogy) by the Basque philosopher, essayist, poet and [illegible] Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo in W. E. Retana, *Vida y escritos de José Rizal* (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1907).

20. Morayta's particularly vexed the Faculty by stressing that the Rizal [illegible] was much older than the Old Testament, pointing out that the Egyptians pioneered the idea of reincarnation in the afterlife, and discussing [illegible] the Flood and a Creation in which Rizal's [illegible] held little place. [illegible] Manuel Sarkisyanz, *Rizal and Bonifacio in Spain* (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1959), p. 205.

21. Rizal, *Filibusterismo*, [illegible] notes, pp. 98–[illegible]. The editors list [illegible] tions and supportive phrases received from students in Madrid, Logroño, Rome, Paris, Lisbon, Coimbra, and various places in Germany.

22. See the animated account of Rizal's [illegible] in a letter of November [illegible] 1884, in *One Hundred Letters*, pp. 197–200.

shall see later, this experience, transformed, became a key [illegible] *El filibusterismo*.

There is only one other event from the student years that is [illegible] underscore. Rizal's first vacation in Paris in the spring of 1883. We have described earlier in some detail the excited letters he wrote to his family from the French capital. There is nothing remotely comparable for Madrid. Paris was the first geographical/political space that allowed him to see in person Spain as profoundly backward, economically, scientifically, industrially, educationally, culturally, and politically.[23] This is one reason why his novels feel unique among anticolonial fictions written under colonialism. He was in a position to ridicule the colonialists rather than merely to denounce them. He read Eduard Douwes Dekker's *Max Havelaar* only after he had published *Noli me tangere*, but one can see at once why he enjoyed the Dutchman's take-no-prisoners style of satire.

By the time he graduated he had had enough of the metropole. He spent most of the next six years in advanced northern Europe. There are perhaps parallels with José Martí, eight years older than Rizal, who studied in Spain in the mid-late 1870s and then left it for good, spending much of the rest of his life in New York.

BISMARCK AND THE NEW GEOGRAPHY OF IMPERIALISM

At this point we must temporarily leave 24-year-old Rizal in order to look schematically at the three worlds in which he found himself situated in the 1880s—the time of *Noli me tangere*'s publication and the painting of *El filibusterismo*.

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23. According to the 1860 census, most of the adult working population was occupationally distributed as follows: 2,345,000 rural laborers, 1,166,000 small farmers, 800,000 servants, 665,000 artisans, 333,000 small businesspeople, 2,000 bagents, 150,000 factory workers, 140,000 in the liberal professions and "[illegible]" occupations, 70,000 employees (state functionaries), 23,000 clergymen, [illegible] 100,000 women, and 23,000 miners. Jean Becarud and Gilles Lapouge, *Espagne inconnue* (Paris: André Balland, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 14–15. Forty years later, [illegible] Barcelona alone had 500,000 workers, but half of them were illiterate. See J. R. [illegible] Maura, "Terrorism in Barcelona and Its Impact on Spanish Politics, 1904–[illegible]," *Past and Present* 41 (December 1968), p. 164.

Schumacher goes so far as to claim a level of equality [illegible] metropole and colony unique in the history of colonization. In [illegible] among people over ten years old in Spain was 58.7 percent. The American census of 1903 showed a figure of 55.5 percent for the Philippines, [illegible] 160 dialects, various local languages, Spanish, and American. *The [illegible] Movement*, p. 364, note 9.

Otto von Bismarck

Having routed the armies of the Austro-Hungarian empire at K[illegible] in 1866, the Iron Chancellor repeated this triumph in 1870 at Sedan, [illegible] Louis-Napoleon and 104,000 French troops were forced to surrender. The victory made possible the proclamation he engineered in January 1871 at Versailles—not Berlin—of the new German empire, and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. From this point on until the ruin of the Great War, unpopular Germany was the dominant power on the European continent. In the 1880s, reversing an earlier policy, Bismarck began to interest himself in competition with Britain and France in extra-European imperial adventures—primarily in Africa, but also in the Far East and in Oceania. It is this last theater that most directly with Rizal's [illegible].

A look at any atlas will show Spanish [illegible] scattered by thousands across the vast [illegible] from Hawaii to the Philippines. [illegible] of archipelagoes with the Marianas at the northern apex and the Carolines and the Marshalls [illegible] southwest and southeast arrows. The Marianas are roughly 1,400 miles due east of Manila, the Carolines at 600 a decade east [illegible] the southern Philippines. The Marshalls, another [illegible]

miles further east. From early imperialist times, when the Papacy [illegible] declared the Pacific a *mare clausum* for the rulers of the Spanish empire [illegible] up to the Napoleonic Wars, these archipelagoes had been [illegible] as under Spanish suzerainty. In fact Spain had little interest in [illegible] as coaling stations and as places to exile political troublemakers. Insofar as they were administered at all, the task was left to the Captain General of the Philippines. But in 1878 Germany took the liberty of establishing a coaling station of its own in the Marshalls, throwing in the sea steps of private commerce. In 1884, Berlin annexed northeast New Guinea (about 800 miles due south of the central Carolines), hitherto run by a private company. The following year it moved to occupy the Carolines by raising the imperial flag on the island of Yap. Fearful of German power, the Spaniards barred [illegible] local resistance to the hasty extension of Madrid's sovereignty—and appealed to the Papacy to mediate. Rome confirmed this sovereignty, but the Germans won trade and coaling privileges, and thereafter dealt with London took control of the Marshalls. The following year the Solomons were partitioned between the United Kingdom and Germany. In 1889 Samoa was made a tripartite protectorate under American, UK, and German control. Echoes of this imperialist hubbub are clear in *El filibusterismo*, where the good-hearted but naive student Isagani is divided between his sympathy for the impressed fishermen and his solidarity with Spain against the encroaching Germans. Rizal was under no illusions about Bismarck personally, but he was certainly impressed by Germany, which was Protestant, sober, industrious, orderly, and disciplined, its impressive scientific and technical and industrial progress made a salutary contrast to Mother Spain. He was certainly happy to have his first novel published, not in Madrid, but in Bismarck's *Hauptstadt*.

In France, the Prussian triumph at Sedan was followed by a brutal siege of Paris from which the shaky post-Louis Napoleon government fled to Bordeaux only to reappear at Versailles to sign a humiliating armistice and later treaty. In March 1871 the Commune took power in the abandoned capital for two months. Then Versailles, having capitulated to Bismarck, [illegible] the moment to attack and in one horrifying week executed roughly 20,000 *communards* or suspected sympathizers, a number higher than those killed in the recent war or during Robespierre's Terror of 1793–94. More than 7,500 were jailed or deported to distant places such as New Caledonia and Cayenne. Thousands of others fled to Belgium, England, Italy, Spain

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[illegible] See the useful chronology on pp. 63–4 of Kim Henry W[illegible] *[illegible] and in Spanish Amer[illegible]* [illegible] National Historical Institute, 2000.

and the United States. In 1872, stringent [illegible] possibilities of [illegible] on the left. Not till 1880 was the [illegible] amnesty for exiled and imprisoned *communards*. M[illegible] Republic found itself strong enough to renew and reinforce [illegible] leon's imperialist expansion—in Indochina, Africa, and Ocean[illegible] number of France's leading intellectuals and artists had either p[illegible] in the Commune (Courbet was its quasi-minister of culture, R[illegible] Pissarro were active propagandists) or were [illegible] ocious repression of 1871 and after was [illegible] n[illegible] from the Third Republic and strengthened [illegible] h[illegible] the left. We shall look at this development [illegible]

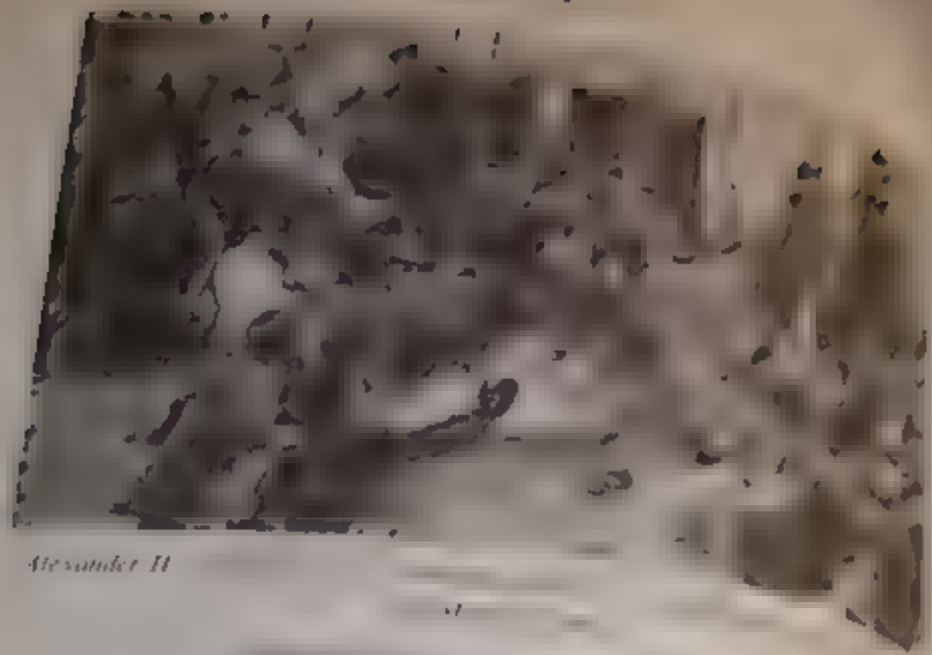
Sedan also caused the withdrawal of the French garrison [illegible] had guaranteed the Papacy's dwindling territorial sover[illegible] ment by the forces of the new, increasingly repressive [illegible] of Italy. The by now completely reactionary Pio Nono (the Garibaldian M[illegible] Ferretti) deprived of temporal power, declared himself the [illegible] inconvertible [illegible] with the [illegible] transaction [illegible] Catholic participation in the Kingdom of Italy. [illegible] Lots Jews are p[illegible] to the suppression of the Mass [illegible] of the 1870s. Large [illegible] Mass [illegible] Eastern [illegible] massacres in the South were [illegible] that between 1882 and [illegible] in Italy. It does not [illegible] Razvan [illegible] Romanoff [illegible] it seems not to have [illegible] Jewish families.

On his return to [illegible] January 1888 via the Pacific Rizal [illegible] stop in Hong Kong. Mark Twain [illegible] was impressed by [illegible] wonderful [illegible] attention [illegible] the Chinese laundrymen. It was great [illegible] of [illegible] Chinese [illegible] independence and [illegible] rapid strides [illegible] modernity. Though he spent a short time in Hong Kong, China itself seems to have been off his map. He reached San Francisco at election time, when anti-Asiatic hysteria was at its height. Turned by being kept [illegible] days on board ship for [illegible] that time purposes, the ship had about 650 Chinese. Very useful for racist anti-immigration campaigning, he hurried across the continent as fast as he could. Nothing was less likely to impress him than the corruption of the Gilded Age, the post-Reconstruction repression of black former slaves, the [illegible] [illegible] foreseeing American expansion across the Pacific. He then settled contentedly in

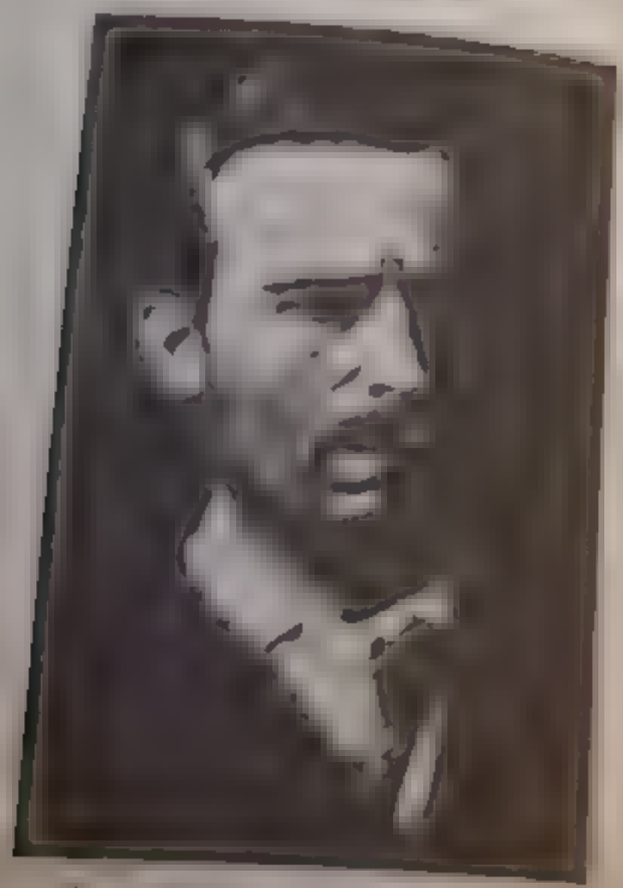
28. See the [illegible] speech at [illegible] in Kevin Ross, *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), and Eugen Weber, *The Nationalists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 14[illegible]

29. See the detailed description in Guérard, *The Fall of the Paris Commune*, p. [illegible]

[illegible] Paraguay history at the Royal Museum, did [illegible] Rizal was [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible] Rizal [illegible] [illegible] Rizal [illegible] [illegible] Rizal



Alexander II



...resses, held in peaceable
...h with Marx in the

continued to be held till 1877.[1] That
technical-political sense was coined an
was also ap

[illegible] made its appeal especially [illegible] and
[illegible] severe repression [illegible]
easier to smash trade unions and political [illegible]
penetrate, and destroy [illegible] of self generated autonomy.
Anarchist theory was less contemptuous of peasants [illegible]
mainstream Marxism was then inclined to be. One
also more viscerally anticlerical. Probably the
why revolutionary anarchism spread [illegible]
sant, Catholic post-Commune France, Rest
tion Italy, Cuba and even Gilded Age ur
prospering much less than mainstream [illegible]
industrial, semidemocratic northern Europe.

In any event, at the end of the bleak 1870

[illegible]

Malatesta offers some interesting data in this regard. The [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] No 1
[illegible]
[illegible]

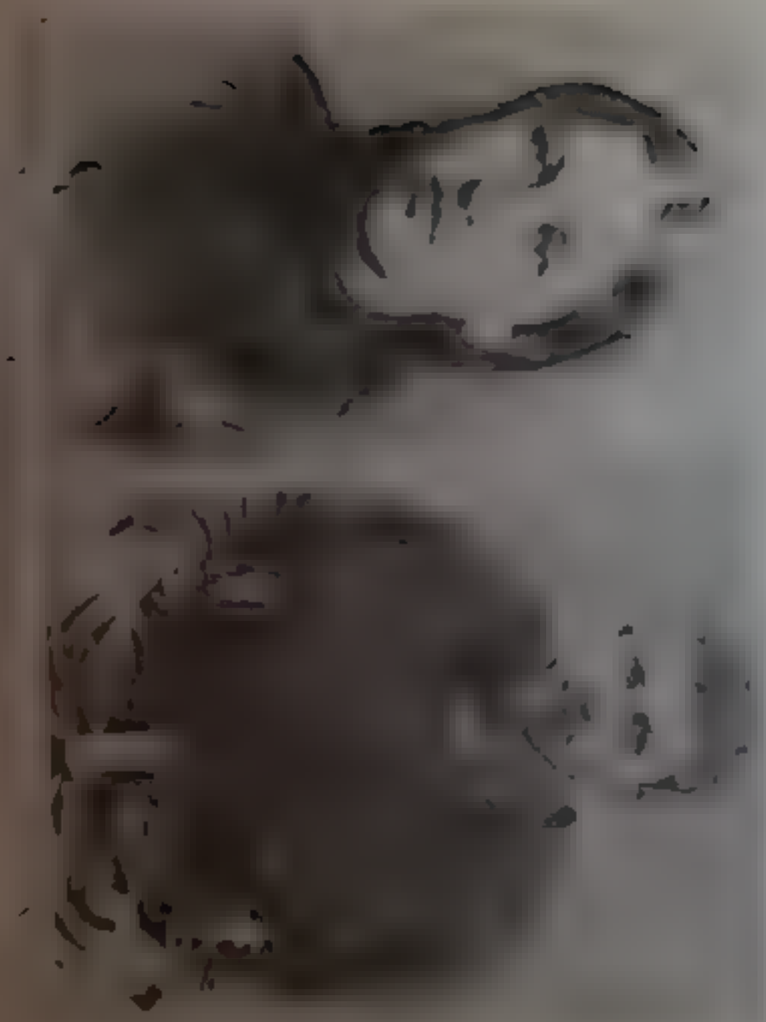
Errico Malatesta

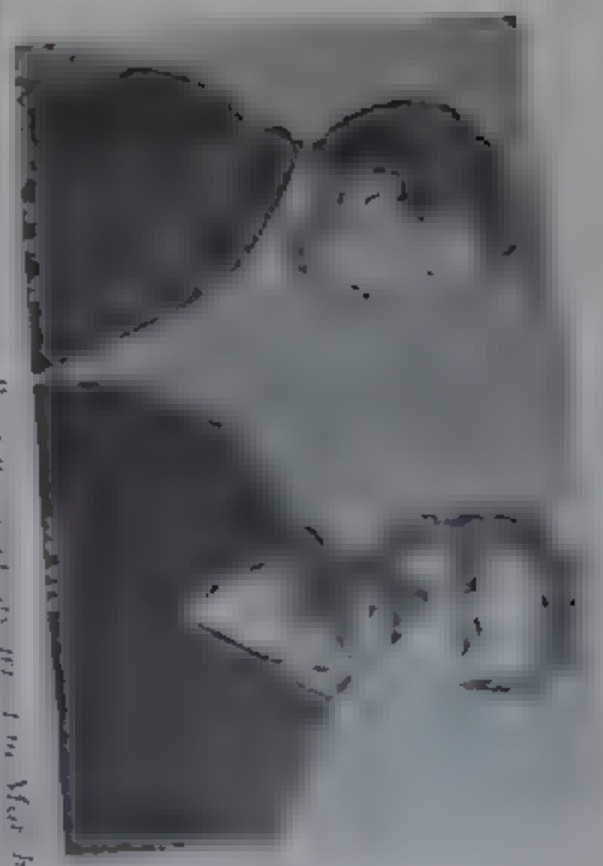
[illegible] throne in 1878. (The same ambience allowed the anarchist cook Giovanni P[illegible]anante to get off lightly when he [illegible] failed to kill the young king w[illegible] a knife etched with the words *Long live the International Republic*.)[34] Two months after the Bene[illegible] Andrea Costa, a close collaborator of Malatesta, gave [illegible] theorizing the new tactic. In early August, Paul Brousse pu[illegible] in the radical *Bulletin de la Federation Jurassienne* explaine[illegible] paper were no longer enough for awakening the c[illegible] the Russians had shown the need to be just as ruthless [illegible] regime. The gentle Kropotkin then swung into action in th[illegible]

[illegible] remained only for *Le Drapeau Noir* to publish clandest[illegible]

Table 1 [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Moses Shot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Buffalo Shot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Beleside Shot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
St Petersburg	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]





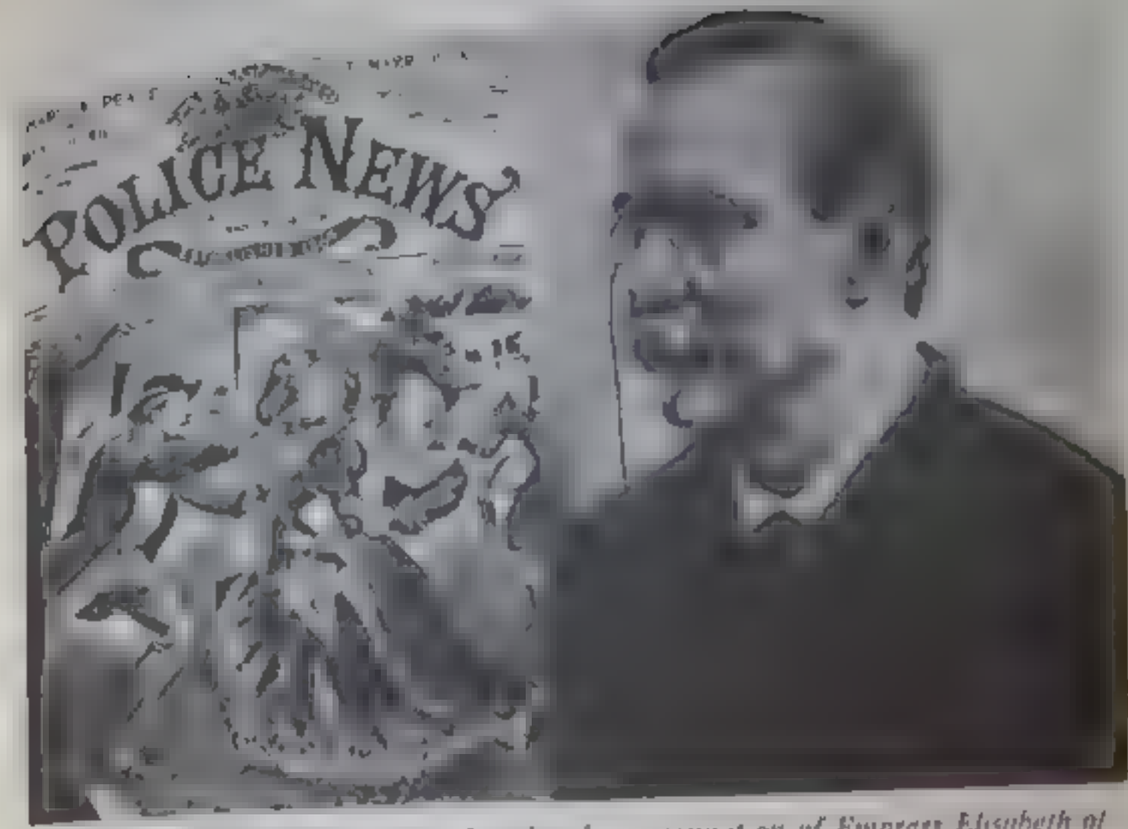
St Petersburg
Harbin
Nakanoka
Mukden

The shooting of President William McKinley by the P[illegible] the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York [illegible]

Italian communities in France, Switzerland, England, Spain, I[illegible] States, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt and Tunisia."[38] Malatesta himself sp[illegible] years 1885–89 proselytizing in and out of Buenos Aires.[39]

And Rizal? He had left Spain in 1885, well before the first w[illegible] anarchist "outrages" began there in 1888. The same is true of h[illegible]

38. Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism*, p. 3. A supplementary, and [illegible] praise for all. There was a time when Italy, especially Centr[illegible]



[illegible] of Luigi Luccheni's assassination of Empress Elisabeth of [illegible] September 1898 (left). Canovas (right)

[illegible] Grand Duke Sergei Alexandr[illegible] Ivan Kalyayev [illegible]

experience in Europe

with great interest. The obvious question that

of Alexandr

precedes de la profesor de raso. Mazzini (Mazzini) A

Pardo commented, tuberculosis killed him only three month

of the

(Quarter). They stayed

1904, when

participation in an offensi

ment in Siberia.

Ivanovna Kriloff

was set by Ho Chi Minh's political and Vo Nguyen Giap
Dien Bien Phu, and set alight by Algeria's FLN revolt
of the Fourth Republic. De Gaulle's return to powe
retaliatory terrorism. For Port[illegible] military failures
que, and Guine-Bissau led to the bloodless coup aga
in Lisbon in April 1974.) It is worthwhile consid
features of this interactive zigzagging, for it was a p
Jose Rizal was well informed, and by which his think

In 1808, the odious future Fernando VII had
Aranuez which accomplished
father, Carlos IV. But Napo
opportunity to send troops into Spain (occup
a minor intervention in Port[illegible]al. Fe[illegible]do wh
[illegible]ation of his succession w
Spain, was immediately imprisoned. Joseph Bu
in Cadiz, which produced
colonies, including the Philippines, were given legislative re
Napoleon's defeat brought Fernando back to power in Mad
support of the Unholy Alliance. In
constitution, inaugurated a new
failed economy, attempted to arrest the
nationalism and in-Spain-repressed liberalism were the two
Fernando failed completely in continental Spanish America
loyalty of slave-owning Peninsulars and creoles in the Spanish
who were out of Bolivar's charismatic orbit, and petrified by
slave revolution in Haiti.

the collapse of the Sout

was h[illegible] from [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] Britain [illegible]
[illegible] occurred in the [illegible] and would have done so had it not been bet[illegible] Captain Andrés Novales [illegible] American [illegible]

One [illegible] Isabel's [illegible] which Carlists [illegible] Spain [illegible] conspiracy minded radical republicans. Ros Zorilla were to players. We have already seen the co[illegible] and the [illegible] Pi[illegible] political [illegible] of 1873 for [illegible] young anarchists and other radi[illegible] politics.

[illegible] in 1828—the same year as Tolstoi—to a pea[illegible]

[illegible] details on these commotions, typi[illegible] pp. 76-9.

[illegible] ruthless politician.[44] A liberal cabinet [illegible] the [illegible] after the fall of Isabel and became the [illegible] Bourbon Restoration. His ambition, aside from its immediate [illegible] a stable order in a state notorious for decades [illegible] Order meant ending the country's civil wars and [illegible] this he was successful during his life, but they [illegible] with a [illegible] meant repressing the radical Left and any [illegible] separatism in the empire. In effect, one could see [illegible] as a [illegible] Spanish Bismarck. After Cánovas's assassination in 1897, the ex-[illegible] would say: "He was the only European with whom I could have a conversation."[45] But Cánovas recognized that Bismarckian [illegible] and so was ultimately ephemeral. Deeper and more [illegible] could be detected in the United Kingdom, where power passed safely back and forth between conservative and liberal elites in a systemic way while [illegible] and imperialism by leaps and strides. This was he was wont to say that he was a great admirer of British [illegible] government and why he proceeded to set up with the his [illegible] Schema [illegible] parody of the Gladstone-Disraeli dramvirate. Schema [illegible] was [illegible] described as a [illegible] hidden regime which listed [illegible] the [illegible] the two leaders permitted the entire [illegible] to be [illegible] through manipulated elections. As more serious crises [illegible] to be resolved, each would yield power to the other and the successor [illegible] would then proceed to manipulate an election in which a respectable [illegible] of candidates would be elected with a scattering of outstanding [illegible] and Carlists to give verisimilitude to the Cortes.[46] Salvador de [illegible] the same judgment related to his Cánovism: he observed was [illegible] to create a "bad-night politics" where elections were manipulated [illegible] was the order of the day and the Cortes was an instrumental [illegible] would play in classical gypsy, or musical comedy genres depending on [illegible] direction and script.[47] The Spanish Disease raged in 1875-81, [illegible] 1890-92 and 1896-97 while his Gladstone filled most of the [illegible] in between. The worst domestic and colonial repressions typical of [illegible] Cánovas while liberal reforms were occasionally [illegible] Sagasta.

[illegible]

[illegible] Spanish Church [illegible] R[illegible] had decreed and [illegible] expropriation [illegible] properties of religious Orders in Spain during [illegible] Orders head of the Gaditan Jacobin [illegible] themselves in Mexico [illegible] Spain. Mexico [illegible] so the Orders were expelled by [illegible] clerical properties were put up for auction [illegible] Indians were snapped up by members of the [illegible] Church expropriation was succeeded by [illegible] absentee owners. Hundreds of [illegible] properties [illegible] day laborers [illegible] after all, were directly respo[illegible]

It had been centuries earlier, in the time of Felipe II. The [illegible] had been sufficiently stung by the revel[illegible] population. The remote Philippines had no [illegible] Potosí, and so the Orders largely ran [illegible] vast properties both in Mexico [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] friars [illegible] it has been [illegible] had any command o[illegible] Spanish [illegible] Philippines. At the [illegible] headed off for safety and [illegible] power was as peculiar to the [illegible] was finally abolished in 1886. [illegible] lasted till the collapse of [illegible]

91. Compare the [illegible] Serious education in Dutch only began there at the start of the twenti[illegible] decline. after three hundred years of Dutch meddling in the archipelago, and a [illegible] Spanish rule in the Philippines had collapsed. [illegible] centuries saw no reason [illegible] still using Dutch [illegible] especially expulsion [illegible] ure on colonial policy, such [illegible] e medium finally was Dutch [illegible]

anticolonial activists were inevi[illegible]
open to Cubans and Puerto R[illegible]
see later on how this [illegible]

BLACK WINGS

When an alarmed Captain-General [illegible] of the International were be[illegible] of 1872, what made the [illegible] After Isabel fled Madrid September 1868, Bakunin was much quicker off the mark than Marx: immediately sent his close Italian friend, the ex-Mazzinist, ex-Garibaldi Giuseppe Fanelli, to Barcelona and Madrid [illegible] advanced local radical activists. In spite of [illegible] Spanish he had an instantaneous [illegible] Prolet[illegible] community in Barcelona developed [illegible] formed early the following year [illegible] Russian [illegible] Bakunin [illegible] Federal Council for Spain [illegible] the International, was publishing *La Solidaridad*, and a little later it held the first and only Congress in early-industrial Barcelona.[32]

Meanwhile, Marx's Commune [illegible] the Commune in Paris but fled to Belgium [illegible] Paris [illegible] new [illegible] Once settled in Madrid [illegible] of Belgium [illegible] shattered the International. During the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Barcelona, but he did help start a Marxist group in Madrid [illegible] Lafargue was the only pro-Marx "Spanish" delegate at the [illegible] Congress of the International in The Hague. Not till 1879 was a semi-clandestine Marxist Socialist Party formed, and it did not come out of the closet till the rule of Sagasta in the early 1880s. Its organ, *El Obrero*, first appeared in 1882.[34] Many more years would pass before it became a central player in the politics of the Spanish Left. There is no special reason to think that Rizal ever heard of it while a student in Madrid.

But he was certainly well aware of what developed next, and we shall find traces of this in *El filibusterismo*. Canovas's six-year regime of repression was replaced by the milder Sagasta in 1881, very soon after the assassination of Alexander II and after a meeting in London of various anarchists had moved to confirm the necessity of violent "propaganda by the deed." The change of government in Spain allowed the FRE top leadership, mostly Catalan, to believe the way was now open for wider, and legal, organizing of the working class, and in September it replaced the FRE by the FTRE (Federacion de Trabajadores de la Region Española). Since this policy diverged from the radical resolutions approved in London, they did what they could to keep these decisions under wraps. But the news leaked out anyway. In spite of a spectacular increase in its affiliated membership—58,000 people in one year—

its support, the PTRE, ho
from what it termed crim
disappration

A BOSOM FRIEND

Sagasta returned to power in 1885, a
government that finally abolished slave
law on association which allowed radicals to start or
again, and substantially expanded pres
attempts at reforms in the Philippines. In 188

administrative li
cable, except with regard to marriage (the Church in the
insisted on this). But it was exactly in July 1885 that Riza
ness for good, proceeding to France and Germany and
further medical studies and with
was published in the spring of 188 he decided th
to the Philippines. Before doing so, however, he went to Austria a
the first and last time Ferdinand Blumentritt, his la
undoubtedly his cl friend and counsellor. As we shall s
Austrian scholar later on, it seems worth describing him and the nature
friendship between the two men.

The son of a minor imperial official, Blumentritt was born in P

moved to the also Bohemian tow

a visible hypochondria kept him from bodily travel outside
the rest of his life. But while he was still a child, a German
married a

al a gifted linguist, he acquir

n pounds, he
Not at all a pedant, he threw humo
for theatricals, enjoyed sketching, and
1.
iz with a feast made up of all his
and museum crammed with
when he arrive
Jules. And his
elacts

each other, and realized this soon after
Rizal sent his first formal letter of self-introduction from Heidelberg in
ember 1886. Within eighteen months they had switched from *Sie* to *Du*
older man with a torrent of information about the
region. Blumentritt introduced

THE FIRST HOMECOMING

[illegible]

man droht mich jeden Tag [illegible]
bei einer anderen [illegible]

[illegible] Protestant [illegible]

[illegible] *The First Filipino*, pp. 178–80, with Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement*, pp. 109–14.

61. Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, p. 180.

62. *The Rizal Bibliography* [illegible] page is [illegible] Rizal was seen as an ogre in clerical circles because of his de[illegible] intended to expose [illegible] Rizal's [illegible] It was [illegible] also wider fear of his designs on Spanish Oceania. It was [illegible] he Rizal had [illegible] entrepreneurs in the Carolines. Spanish troops were sent [illegible] to put down resistance there to the full imposition of Madrid's sovereign[illegible]

[illegible] Rizal's family was [illegible] ons Rizal's family went up the legal hierarchy over the [illegible] Court in Spain, but unsurprisingly the Domin[illegible] members of Rizal's family were evicted from [illegible] and other recalcitrant townspeople were [illegible] Rizal himself had been advised by [illegible] was suspected of masterminding the [illegible] himself passed the word that he could protect the [illegible] no longer. Accordingly, in February 1888, Rizal left the [illegible] Japan for a quick first-hand look at a rapidly self-[illegible] modernizing [illegible] the United States for a few days, and finally to England.

At about the same time, Terrero's term in office ended [illegible] sure from conservatives at home and [illegible] on to appoint in his stead General Valeriano Weyler, a man with a reputation for severity while serving [illegible] in Havana, and in the middle 1890s to become world-notorious, thanks to the American press, as the [illegible]

[illegible] almost all of the first ten [illegible] the First Domin[illegible] in the Caribbean. It will be [illegible] fully broken away from Haiti in 1844, but in 1861, [illegible] into the Spanish empire [illegible]

RACISM WITHIN EMPIRE NATIONALISM

Dr. Rizal's first [illegible] taken up by [illegible] Tagalog [illegible] by Sayas [illegible] Morga. He saw the answer as being [illegible] rch collection of the [illegible] Brown [illegible] records of his country had survival [illegible] later, of racist Spanish [illegible] His [illegible] prologue [illegible]

[illegible] *Filipinos* p. 247 [illegible] Rizal was deeply attacks in Washington during the [illegible] War, and became an admirer of the ruthless Sherman. See his [illegible] in his *El Indio* [illegible] *Ramon Emilio Betances (1827–1898)* (San Juan [illegible] 351, Félix Ojeda Reyes [illegible] *mando en Cuba*

[illegible] as we have seen [illegible] 188[illegible] Morga published [illegible] Philippines [illegible] of the Audiencia in Manila. [illegible] honest [illegible] was not clouded by clerical pre[illegible] Rizal [illegible] minutiae [illegible] most [illegible] signed to show the relative tenability by comparison with [illegible] Morga's more favorable account of native society its [illegible] ful productivity, and its commercial relations [illegible] Rizal [illegible] in 1889 by [illegible] rule in 1889.[illegible]

[illegible] been [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Rizal [illegible] line, which [illegible] and for not fully mastering Tagalog!

[illegible] *Filipino*, Guerrero has a lengthy and [illegible] pp. 205–233 [illegible] Rizal [illegible] suggested [illegible] Rizal [illegible] Jose R. [illegible] Pedro [illegible]

Marcela Del Pilar (centre), flanked by José Rizal (left) and Isabelo de los Reyes (right)

Filipino pel[illegible] Del Pilar's elder brother, a native priest, had been [illegible] the Manila [illegible] repression of 1872, [illegible] Marcelo was [illegible] nationalist organizer under the permissive rule of Terrero, Centeno, and Q[illegible]. But [illegible] Weyler's arrival he knew he was a marked man, and so escaped to Spain. He immediately took over [illegible] Filipino activists and their new journal, eventually moving it to Madrid to be close to the centre of state power. From then on, till his death in Barcelona in July 1896, he never left Spain.

While Del Pilar's goal was certainly eventual Philippine independence, and while he actively promoted close ties with Mexico and Cuba, [illegible] he was convinced that the necessary first step, expected to be taken in Spain itself, [illegible] cabinet, along with liberal and republican members of the Cortes, had to be helped by every means available to create the institutional process in which independence could [illegible] be achieved [illegible] possible. The first step to be taken, [illegible]

this right as [illegible] Spanish
really the same legal [illegible] The Caribbean colony was Spanish
[illegible] educational [illegible] Del Pilar was
[illegible] than Rizal in fact [illegible] independent Philippines be
[illegible] Spanish-language [illegible] the Philippines would also be the
[illegible] of destroying [illegible] Orders peculiar importance in his
[illegible] and well-connected [illegible] Rizal and Del Pilar
Though [illegible] expected one another, [illegible] The new
journal. But gradually their relationship became more and more strained
Del Pilar was eleven years older than Rizal, had spent years in the risks
business [illegible] in the Philippines and in Spain was a shrewd
indefatigable [illegible] of state-powers
towards his co[illegible] But his position
excellent terms. [illegible]

sympathet[illegible] metropole joined lodges
[illegible] were more friendly and
[illegible] Cuban member of
[illegible]

[illegible] as my thinking [illegible]
it isn't remedy [illegible]
or the time [illegible]

[illegible] was becoming visible, rooted in [illegible]
[illegible] rnal arguments over "assimilat[illegible]
me to a head at the end of the year whe[illegible]
[illegible] consultat[illegible]

agree with what you can write. What Blumentr

received from Del Pilar had expressed great appreciation for

had taken four decades to accomplish. Filipinos should not despise it, since it defended the honor of their country and their people. Perhaps my words are harsh and blunt, but my heart is tender and good. I will never abandon my poor Philippines. I shall not be a deserter."[6]

Rizal was increasingly certain that the whole assimilationist campaign was futile. Cuban representation in the Cortes was meaningless under the corrupt Cánovas-Sagasta electoral system. It had not stopped Spain from continued merciless exploitation of Cuban production through manipulated tariffs, monopolies, and subjection to Basque and Catalan business interests.[7] Besides, Rizal believed, there was no chance whatever, at the end of the nineteenth century, of turning millions of Filipinos into assimilated Spanish

tion would have to be done back home.

Estoy cansado ya [illegible] amargarme la vida [illegible] Ah! le digo a [illegible] esto que hay todavía [illegible] paisanos y todos p[illegible] tener su espíritu [illegible]

Self portrait of Juan Luna, aged 22

A Mysterious Probably

[illegible] a comparable absence. No mention of [illegible] Comte, Saint Simon, Fourier, Bentham, Mill, Bakunin, or Kropotkin — only one sentence casual allusions to Proudhon and Tolstoi. Is it possible that over the almost ten years he spent in Madrid, Paris, London, and Berlin, he managed to avoid or ignore all these influential political thinkers?

There is, so far, only one direct, if ambiguous, clue: a letter of May 11, 1891, written to him in Brussels by his close friend in Paris, the painter Juan Luna. It is worth quoting at some length:

[illegible] cuadros en la [illegible] como mando yo los cuadros, como patatas al [illegible] habras visto me escapo ahora [illegible]

[illegible]

de polvo y los diez o doce trabajadores que se ocupaban en rellenar con un [illegible]
mismo tenían el aspecto de cadáveres [illegible] miserable de los pobres
estuve 3 o 4 días [illegible] y me parecía que había tragado arena y polvo toda
metía por las narices, por la boca, por los ojos . . . y [illegible]
respiraban 12 horas carbón y polvo; yo creo que infa[illegible]
muerte y que es un crimen al abandonar así a tan pobre gente [illegible]
opening of the S[illegible] de Marzo 1 is the first time that I have two p[illegible]
th[illegible] pictures] or on the sole I can [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

reason for this strangeness
political thinker. He

INTRO

spatial emplacement is sharply confirmed by one of the subplots
uces the reader to the
peasant laws. Thus man clears an
bounded confines of Ibarra's
the prospers, agents of the state

rs-in-law, while Pacano was his
for resisting the Domin-
San Diego" is calmly unmasked as

TRANSPOSITIONS

The main subplot of *El filibusterismo* is [illegible] unsuccessful campaign of the [illegible] for (fay) instruction in the Spanish [illegible] hispanization of the population. In [illegible] such student campaign in Manila [illegible]

the tactics [illegible]

[illegible] hughaboo [illegible] virtual [illegible] strange [illegible] only one [illegible] itself a fine [illegible] ideas. It is [illegible] a simply [illegible] Mac [illegible]

[illegible] which the reader learns [illegible] because Basi [illegible]

Ah, la juventud siempre [illegible] cultivan una vuestra patria a la [illegible]

[illegible] hasta [illegible] cuando os [illegible] llegar. Y [illegible] cuando [illegible] 7 días de [illegible] y [illegible] engaño generó [illegible] cerebro y [illegible] cada pueblo tiene el suyo [illegible] con el [illegible] ad, subordinar vuestros pensa [illegible] de hacer os [illegible] haceros verdaderamente [illegible] resumis de si [illegible] sois renegados de [illegible] a ese idioma, desnuda de tal manera el [illegible] saber de [illegible] Mientras Rusia [illegible] a la Polonia le [illegible], mientras la Alemania prohibe e [illegible] gobierno pugna por conservaros el [illegible] en cambio, pueblo maravilloso bajo un gobierno increíble. [illegible] y otro os olvidais [illegible] conserva la prenda de su libertad, [illegible] mientras conserva su manera de pensar. Es [illegible] el pensamiento de los pueblos. [Ah, youth! Always naive, always [illegible] after butterflies and flowers. You unite so that by your [illegible] motherland to Spain with garlands of roses, when in fact [illegible] You ask for equality of rights, and [illegible] without understanding that what you ask for is [illegible], the obliteration of your [illegible] and [illegible] become in the future? A people without [illegible] you will be borrowed, even your [illegible] not blanch with shame when it

[illegible] amazing power under an [illegible]
you must on stripping yourselves of your own [illegible]
[illegible] people conserves its language, [illegible]
liberty, as a man his independence [illegible]
is the very thought of a peopl[illegible]

The trade is powerful enough to let th[illegible] [illegible] that [illegible]
had an unscrupulous and cruel Basque g[illegible] andfather. And [illegible]
purposes of his disguise he affects a bad heart[illegible]
this denunciation of Hispanic[illegible]
might also overlook a con[illegible]
'Queres añadir un idioma más a los cuarenta y [illegible]
[illegible]
would have appalled the comrades around *La Sol*[illegible] [illegible]
have been speaking to the present. But transferred to Manila he is speak[illegible]
[illegible]

Similar space–time shifts are visibl[illegible] the novel moves towards it[illegible]
After the campaign for a Spanish language academy has failed a [illegible]
subversive posters (*pasquinades*) appear all over the university [illegible]
[illegible] the regime is [illegible]
[illegible] mysterious posters quickly cause a general panic, fed by wild [illegible]
[illegible] in Andalusia in 1881, and foreshadow the so-called 'revolutio[illegible]
[illegible] early in 1892. It is interesting that Rizal [illegible]
[illegible] in the Philippi[illegible]

[illegible] half Dutch, half Asia[illegible]

[illegible] where some of their [illegible]
[illegible] It seems they expected, [illegible]
[illegible] m. The police dispersed them, and
[illegible] and two townspeople had been killed. Near the
[illegible] an indiscriminate wave of
[illegible] of the
[illegible]

[illegible] p. 49, Eisenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, pp. 175–80
[illegible] punishment by the gun
[illegible]
[illegible] "worst" type political offenders. Incidentally
[illegible]

Ravachol, a criminal with a record of murder and [illegible] caught and put on trial. Claiming that he had [illegible] violent police repression against a workers' demonstration [illegible] by the trial of some workers at which the prosecutor [illegible] win) the death penalty, Ravachol told the court that he was [illegible] revolutionary [illegible] On July [illegible] shouting, "Vive l'Anarchie!" and promising that his death would be a signal. His was the first political execution in France since the massacres of Communards.

In spite of his dubious past, Ravachol's death made him an instant hero [illegible] the *anarchisant* Left on both sides of the Pyrenees. Nuñez quotes a well-known popular song of the time, "La Ravachole" as follows:

Dansons la Ravachole
Vive le son, vive le son!
Dansons la Ravachole!
Vive le son
De l'explosion

Elisée Reclus, the famous theorist of anarchism, was quoted in the Spanish anarchist press as saying, "I am one of those who see in Ravachol a hero with a rare grandeur of spirit," while the writer Paul Adam, a member of Mallarmé [illegible] the misery and misery of the people around him, and sacrificed his life in a holocaust. His charity, his disinterestedness, the vigor of his actions, his courage in the face of inevitable death, raised him to the splendour of legend. In these times of [illegible] and irony, a saint has been born to us." The Spanish anarchist press described Ravachol as a "violent Christ" and a "brave and dedicated revolutionary," and some [illegible] put out two short-lived publications in his honor, *[illegible]* and *El Eco de Ravachol* early in 1893.[88]

[illegible]

[illegible] Pallas threw two bombs at the Captain-General [illegible] Martínez Campos (signer of the Pact of Zanjón [illegible] ten-year insurrection in Cuba for a peaced [illegible] Campos escaped, [illegible] one death and several grave wounds. But Martínez [illegible] Pallas made no attempt to hide or escape [illegible] shouted "Viva l'Anarquia!" He was executed [illegible] the 32-year-old Salvador Santano threw a huge bomb [illegible] of Rossini's opera [illegible] Opera House during a performance [illegible]

---

39 According to a contemporary newspaper report, Pallas did not use the [illegible] "Orsini bomb" but another one described as "Fenian." *Ibid.*, p. 53. Felice [illegible] of the 1848 revolutions, a deputy in the ephemeral [illegible] and headed [illegible] *The* [illegible] sold 35,000 copies. [illegible] made him wildly popular on the [illegible] new type of bomb, made mainly from [illegible] exploded on impact. He tested it [illegible] Sheffield. Then, believing that [illegible] in France which would [illegible] but 56 people were [illegible] Martínez [illegible] was executed [illegible] September 1893. [illegible] *Haver Lam* [illegible]

[illegible] Santano was the best-[illegible] Otero [illegible] Nuñez [illegible] Santano [illegible] lithographer [illegible] and then moved to Barcelona [illegible] He had become a radical and anarchist [illegible] He threw a pie and [illegible] anarquía. No one was hurt and [illegible] When the Spanish police searched [illegible] a copy of Kropotkin's [illegible] the Haymarket Martyrs. Most [illegible] but Nuñez [illegible] to support this claim. Compare [illegible] Nuñez, *La* [illegible] pp. 42 and [illegible] Most [illegible] were killed and twelve wounded.

Augusta
Barcelona, which ha
back from the
Then, o

tion s g
stabbed
anarchist S
(menus) came wit
following
The perpetrator

s. None of them
nsider some of the words that
been quite at his ease as reported by Joll." Asked why he had k
people. Henry replied sardonically, "Il n'y a pas d'innocents"

that the existing organization of society) was bad. I wanted to
so as to hasten its disappear
to gener

that golden calf would
would cast it down in mud and blood

to an upper bourgeo

does not turn them into prostitutes.

the cata

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

marked the crisscrossing
the deed," with its planless
from my deed and death
unlivable present
where Basilio, learning of the
exclaims: "Qué dirá el mundo, á
world say at the sight of such

as fuerte, al mas violente'
nes del occidente sacrificaron en America
cerro gata
Norte era su libertad egoista, su ley de Lynch, sus
publicas intranquilas, sus revoluciones
como en su madre España! Europa

indirá como se aplaude al fin de un drama, al fin de una
[The world will
Europe
tarbulent republics, its
like its mother

Tagalog
Castil
language of Europ
Revolution, if a
also con

This must be

AN ENIGMATIC SMILE

This brings us to the most powerful part of [illegible] pages are filled with a lengthy demagogic but [illegible] gentle native priest Father [illegible] with [illegible] refuge Simón passes to the press the fault of the [illegible] Dios demands such [illegible] penitence misery and exploitation [illegible] happy to suffer and to work [illegible] Herrero no [illegible] He tells Simón that God [illegible] but that he has chosen [illegible] Madrissa. Most [illegible] Señor Rizzo [illegible] [illegible] Wer [illegible]

[illegible] BISMARCK AND NORD

[illegible] one" said Isagani with an enigmatic smile. "If he had been able to reflect upon it, he certainly [illegible] after a pause, he added: "I would not be [illegible]

Isagani takes his leave to "retire permanently" in the house-hold of his uncle [illegible] Florentino), and disappears from the novel.[10] The [illegible] is the specialty of Sa[illegible] Simón reveals that he wrecked the power's scheme. The Spanish makes it clear that to retire "permanently" (*por* [illegible] intention at the moment of departure. In whose footsteps will he follow? It is as if the reader is invited to await a sequel to *El filibusterismo*.

[illegible] Captain General Weyler [illegible] Señor Rizzo [illegible] Señor Pedro [illegible] Señor Pedro [illegible] Señor Pedro

In late 1945, a bare two [illegible] the Japanese country had collapsed, but at a moment when Dutch return in force, Indonesia's young first prime mi[illegible] described the condition of his revolution-starved [illegible] This [illegible] word that is easily [illegible] into English one [illegible] sensible range covering "anxious," "troubled," "un[illegible] peciant." This is the feeling of *filibusterismo*. Somethin[illegible]

4

Trials of a Novelist

[illegible]RNYCHEVSKY'S QUESTION

[illegible] Hong Kong, and having [illegible] remaining affairs, Rizal left Europe on October 19, 1891. Except for a single

welcome the idea of settling down under [illegible]
country's foremost intellectual leader. [illegible]
Europe, made it difficult for him long [illegible]
besieged with letters from his [illegible]
him what he would do "[illegible]
"next" turned out to be [illegible]
were wasting their tim[illegible] devasta[illegible]
to waste time in Hong K[illegible]inst him.

Chto delat? We can see [illegible] photographic negative one central alter[illegible]
from an alarmed, trenchant letter from Ferdinand Blumentritt [illegible]
uary 30, 1892

[illegible] hat die Revolution nie durch eigene K[illegible]
[illegible] nion wurde frei, weil Frankreich, Spanien und Ho[illegible]
[illegible] spanischen Republiken wurden frei, weil im Mutterl[illegible]
[illegible] England u. Nordamerika sie mit Geld und Waffe[illegible]
[illegible] wurden frei, weil England, Frankreich u. Russland [illegible]
[illegible] Serben, Bulgaren wurden durch Russland frei, Italie[illegible]
[illegible] u. Preussen, Belgien durch England und Frankreic[illegible]
[illegible] eigene Kraft vertrauten, erlagen sie der Soldateska de[illegible]
[illegible] lanemer 1830, 1848 u. 1848, die Polen 1831, 1845 und 18[illegible]
[illegible] Kaiserreich. Vor allem, I beg you not to go [illegible]
For he who stages a revolution should at the least have [illegible]
[illegible] of success, if he does not wish to have his concern[illegible]
[illegible] Whenever a people has rebelled against another [illegible]
[illegible] y against the Motherland, the revolution has never [illegible]

[illegible] has no revolution of this kind has any chance of [illegible]
[illegible] he enemy's army and navy mutiny (2) the [illegible]
[illegible] undergoes civil war or external attack [illegible]
[illegible] have been prepared well beforehand, (4) a foreign [illegible]
[illegible] supports the insurrection. He added: "Not one of [illegible]
[illegible] Philippines [today]."[4] Teaching at Leitmeritz in [illegible]
[illegible] which never helped any people to be free but [illegible]
[illegible] Hungarians, Italians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Rumanians, [illegible]
[illegible] Greeks orbited. Blumentritt appeared to have recent[illegible]
[illegible] success firmly on his side. He was also right that [illegible]
[illegible] preconditions for Philippine success were present [illegible]
[illegible] long persist?

[illegible] Rizal's energetic younger friend Edilberto Evangelista
(later a slain hero [illegible] the 1896–98 armed insurrection against Spain) wrote to
Rizal thus on Ap[illegible] 1992 from (then) French-speaking Ghent:[5]

[illegible] au moins le nombre de ceux qui
[illegible] veux dire qu'il faut donner
[illegible] Gouvernement un Club
[illegible] Hongkong ou ailleurs
n'importe quoi. Ne l'ont-ils pas les Separatistes de Cuba? Ont-ils pas les
Progressistes [*sic*] [illegible]? Why don't you try at least to find out the number
of those who accept your ideas and are on fire with the same élan: what I mean is

[illegible] 1888 was indeed bloodily crushed. It is curious that the many
[illegible] Rizal that features quotations from his famous letter show no order the
[illegible] apparently unaware of any
[illegible] the Kidder [illegible] or [illegible] Kidder [illegible] see no reason
[illegible] wholly the National Historical Institute's *The Rizal Blumentritt*
[illegible] (Manila 1992) [illegible] the Irish [illegible] as a translation
[illegible] have happened is that the bemused transcriber read the close-set *d* as *d*
[illegible] the Kidder. A vowel was then needed which could be read from
[illegible] had the necessary vertical shape.
[illegible] of Miss Dichinson's revolutionary Agoncillo en
[illegible] which implies not leadership but entanglement. In his
[illegible] Rizal of July 4, 1892 the Austrian wrote: "They were not
[illegible] who have written to me that Rizal should lead a revolt
[illegible] or start a revolutionary movement. I admonished them not to
[illegible] such a thing, and so I wrote to you at once." These letters of
[illegible] appear not to have survived.
[illegible] along with Jose Abreu and Jose Alejandrino had been persuaded
[illegible] case by Wa[illegible] to Spain and study engineering (on Blumentritt's advice)
[illegible] later to become a general in the Rev[illegible] served with Rizal's
[illegible] brother. He was being written found him a publisher in Ghent
[illegible] with proceeds from Evangelista, Alejandrino and Antonio Luna [illegible]
Rizal's remarks against Aguinaldo [illegible] the [illegible] of the
[illegible] See Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement*, pp. 246 [illegible]

that it is essential to give form to your ideas by organizing, in [illegible] government, a Revolutionary Club, which you could direct from Hong Kong or any other place. Isn't this what the Cuban separatists have [done]? And Spanish Progressives?]"

CONRAD COUNTRY

Rizal's first plan for resolving, or evading, these contradictory pr[illegible] was to form a settlement for his family and [illegible]-minded friends on the b[illegible] of Sandakan in what is today the east Malaysian federal state of Sabah. Geographically, it was as close to the Philippines as one could [illegible] miles from Jolo, seat of the once-powerful Muslim sultanate of Sulu [illegible] restive under loose Spanish overlordship, and a little over [illegible] Manila. The same distances separated Havana from Miami, and fr[illegible] Tampa, where Martí was recruiting revolutionaries among the Cuban tobacco-worker [illegible]. Politically, too, it could seem promising. The northern littoral of Borneo was, in the 1890s, a very peculiar Conradian place. On the western portion lay the kingdom of the so-called White Rajahs, founded by an English adventurer James Brooke in the 1840s and under [illegible] protection from the 1880s. The residues of the once-powerful sultanate of Brunei occupied a small niche in the middle, while the eastern portion, including Sandakan, was given, after 1882, by a private business, the British North Borneo Chartered Company. Better still, in 1885 the Spanish had been induced to abandon any claim to the territory deriving from the shifting suzerainty of Jolo. Hence, while Hong Kong was under the suspicious eyes of the Spanish consul and the Catholic Orders' local branches, Sandakan was free of both. It was not surprising, therefore, that some of Rizal's more fiery correspondents in Europe, such as Lava, Zaleta and Antonio Luna, dreaming of Martí's Florida, were until [illegible] about the planned settlement. Some time in January 1892 Lava wrote to Rizal in Hong Kong that B[illegible] sería un Cayo Hueso para [illegible] y muy probable será [illegible] sus habitantes [illegible] Cayo Hueso (Bone Reef, [illegible] populated by the American [illegible] Western [illegible] it is very probable that I will become one of its de[illegible]

[illegible] Rizal's [illegible] Martí [illegible] Cuba Revolutionary Party [illegible] Rizal [illegible] Rizal [illegible] 202

[illegible] make it necessary].[7] On the other hand Sandakan also [illegible]ed an unbadgered life for Rizal's family, and for the novelist [illegible], his library and his writing.[8] He also hoped that many of the

---

[illegible] Rizal [illegible] pp. [illegible] 2. The whole letter is of great [illegible] he was highly intelligent. He told Rizal he was heading back to [illegible] independence. Pero todo eso será preciso mucho estudio [illegible] prudencia y nada de alardes de ser fuertes. Con constancia y [illegible] unos jesuitas para plantar una casa donde pongamos un cimiento [illegible] sentido mi concurso, pero con la sola condición de que [illegible] que me comprendes bien, si nos vencen que cueste mucha sangre. Es, pues, a Manila y en todos mis actos tendré en cuenta presente mi deber de separarse. Nada de desconfianzas, si las circunstancias me colocan al lado de los españoles en Manila, peor por ellos: me ganaré la vida, me mandaré el sueldo a costa de ellos hasta que la fruta esté madura. Tenemos ya, pues, [illegible] son vuestras ideas estar [illegible] por aquí que trabajar con constancia. ¡But this will require much study, much tact, prudence and no empty boasting about our strength. With constancy and [illegible] we will be able to [illegible] up a house for which we have a key. So, in this sense, I am at your disposal. Assurance, but with the condition that I can not engage in the active campaign. I see that it will be more than a mutiny . . . I believe you understand me well, that I [illegible] much bloodshed. In any case, I am leaving for Manila and in a [illegible] as a suspect will, access be before my eyes. No suspicions of [illegible] place me at the side of the Spaniards in Manila so much the worse [illegible] more money [illegible] their cost until he [illegible] Yours [illegible] are also yours [illegible] on the [illegible] work with [illegible]

[illegible] Rizal wrote Blumentritt on January 3, 1892: *Mañana [illegible] tres decidido de una labores profesionales, [illegible] la tercera parte de mi libro en tagalo. En el solamente se tratará de costumbres tagalas, exclusivamente de los [illegible]* [illegible] *escribir en español porque he [illegible] escribir una novela en* [illegible] *literaria. Estoy [illegible] quiero [illegible] escribo en español entonces [illegible] tagalos a quienes [illegible] Me [illegible] aunque sea [illegible] los que más me necesitan. [illegible] muchos de mis pensamientos no pueden expresarse [illegible] que tengo que introducir neologismos, además no [illegible] Aparte de mis labores como doctor, I am [illegible] the third part of my book in Tagalog. It will deal solely with Tagalog [illegible] with the habits, virtues and defects of the Tagalogs. I [illegible] the book in Spanish now that I have found a [illegible] here I [illegible] a novel in the modern sense of the word, an artistic and literary [illegible] I would like to satisfy politics and the rest for the sake of art. I [illegible] the poor Tagalogs to whom the work is dedicated [illegible] though it is they who most need to do so. The book [illegible] trouble as many of my thoughts cannot be freely expressed [illegible] the need to introduce neologisms. Besides, I lack practice. [illegible] Rizal's F. Pr[illegible] Fernando Blumentritt [illegible] What is there [illegible] has been [illegible] never was never published. [illegible] by Ambeth Ocampo [illegible] *The Search for Rizal* [illegible] Manila, Anvil, 1993). Rizal gave up writing in Tagalog [illegible]

[illegible] dispossessed people at his [illegible] Bertha de Sanchiang?

At the end of March Rizal [illegible] after preliminary negotiations with the Bureau of Navigation [illegible] Philippines representative in Hong Kong [illegible] Rizal was elected Stock [illegible] years with the possibility of [illegible] North Borneo Chartered Company [illegible] proposed [illegible] further [illegible] members according to their [illegible] to receive [illegible] whole project started [illegible] Rizal [illegible] Rizal [illegible] substituted [illegible] that he was [illegible] Despite [illegible] was not persuaded. An emigration [illegible] scale would [illegible] in a bad light, besides, the conservative press in Spain [illegible] as the start of a Bornean Tampa just out of Manila [illegible] and money [illegible]

Rizal's [illegible] political [illegible] Philippines [illegible] contradictory, come [illegible] testimony [illegible] or extracted by police interrogators and torturers [illegible] on the townspeople of Pili and their Peninsular [illegible]

[illegible] interrogated in 1892 though as we shall soon see he was arrested with [illegible] days of returning to Manila, and just after a private banquet held to proclaim the [illegible] of what be called the Liga Filipina.)

LA LIGA FILIPINA

[illegible] aims of the Liga Filipina appear to have been compatible with the [illegible] Rizal's writings and correspondence after 1896: (1) [illegible] compact, vigorous and homogeneous [illegible] every exigency and need, (3) defence against [illegible] (4) development of education, agriculture and [illegible] (5) the study and application of reforms.[2] The first point [illegible] that colonial law would have to be radically changed to [illegible] the lettered principales of Peninsulares, criollos, and mestizos. The [illegible] points suggest that the colonial state was often lawless, and [illegible] As a whole, however, the [illegible] program, and the police language it employed, was within the bounds of [illegible] colonial Philippine legality. Beyond that there was the unstated [illegible] Cuba where, as we shall shortly see, slavery had been [illegible] political parties, to say nothing of civic and even leftwing [illegible] had been legalized (with definite limits), and within [illegible] comparable limits a variegated lively press had developed. If all this was possible in Cuba why not also in the Philippines? It seemed a reasonable try.

But the Liga's internal organization, as far as the conversations of 1896 [illegible] was clearly designed for partial clandestinity. Formally, it was to be based on local councils, whose heads would form higher councils at the provincial level; the heads of the provincial councils would then create a [illegible] council with power of command over the entire Liga. Yet each member was bound to [illegible]

[illegible] See Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, pp. 318–19. Guerrero refers to W. E. [illegible] work *Los escritos de Dr. J. Rizal* as his main source, and Retana [illegible] rather on the police reports. A very important exception is the [illegible] *Noli de los Reyes* composed while he was held in Manila by the [illegible] suspected of complicity in Bonifacio's insurrection of August 1896 [illegible] interviewed many of his *insurrecto* fellow prisoners. It was soon published [illegible] the admission of their innocence as *La sentencia ... Rizal ... Kesaw ... Filipina de 1896* (Madrid: Tip. Lit. de J. Corrales, [illegible])

[2] Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, p. 295 and by Retana's book, pp. [illegible] the social Darwinist to be an undeniable and sentiment given to the [illegible] Los Santos.

[illegible] personal interests and [illegible]
[illegible] verbal warfare [illegible]
should [illegible] immediately [illegible]
chance of unveiling [illegible]
[illegible] and of [illegible]
[illegible] brothers, children [illegible]

He should also [illegible]
member in danger and [illegible]
perhaps [illegible]

It is not easy to be [illegible]
from Masonry's [illegible] was R[illegible]
to have become a Mason [illegible]
the lodges was a Mason [illegible]
he was not [illegible]
natives [illegible] Masons [illegible]
increased [illegible]
the [illegible] It is much more likely [illegible]
[illegible] formed the [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] in his hand have ever come [illegible]
The Trial of Rizal. W. E. [illegible]

[illegible] to attribute their organization's shape to
[illegible] wanted to hear and
[illegible] comparison [illegible] Martí [illegible]
[illegible] whose native language was Spanish, and who mar-
[illegible] (he may have been [illegible]
[illegible] Mexico and the United States [illegible]
[illegible] expansion [illegible] was not [illegible]
[illegible] in the broad [illegible] He
had extensive contacts throughout Latin America, even serving as honorary
Uruguayan consul in the United States. He made his reputation as an orator,
[illegible] he had extensive
[illegible] Cuba's interest
[illegible] needed
[illegible] American [illegible] from
[illegible] happen [illegible] he
[illegible] Martí
[illegible] muy

[illegible] *cont'd* Cuando leí en los Estatutos 'obediencia ciega y pena de muerte al que descubriese algun secreto de la Liga,' . . . [I refused tactfully to join, offering [illegible]

battle-hardened veterans, with long [illegible]
for renewed armed struggle.

[illegible]

[illegible] Josephine Bracken. Her background [illegible]
of her life that she is said to have penned in Febru[illegible]
wrote that she was the daughter of two Belfast Cath[illegible]

[illegible] the mutinies, but they were

[illegible]

THE S[illegible]

On June 19, 1892 Rizal turned thirty-one. Th[illegible]
which he entrusted to his Portuguese [illegible]
King's direction of [illegible] They were sealed [illegible]
opened and published in the event of h[illegible]
[illegible] letter to Captain-General [illegible]
was to take him to Manila.

Of the two sealed letters,

[illegible] and others who can take my place [illegible]
to advantage, furthermore, there are perhaps [illegible]
and see no need for [illegible]
loved my poor country [illegible] I am sure I shall love [illegible]
men should prove unjust to me, my future, my life, [illegible]
love of her. Be my fate be what it may, I shall die b[illegible]
dawn of her redemption]*

[illegible]
own explication. Two months earlier, *La Solidaridad* had published [illegible]
[illegible] on him and his politics. The [illegible]
[illegible] le lampoon entitled [illegible] Redentores de B[illegible]
[illegible]). Here, Rizal was sure, he was mocked as [illegible]
[illegible]gue who poses in the style of Napoleon, a[illegible]
[illegible] for the liberation of the C[illegible]
He gathers around him a following of m[illegible]
calls on them to take up arms [illegible]

[illegible] huso Dios! La guerra! Hemos [illegible]

[illegible] the natural, [illegible]
[illegible] enough by vociferous [illegible]
[illegible] fight. My [illegible]

[illegible] med crowds head off to attack the oppressors but are
[illegible] ed to universal laughter, and are either sent to the gallows
[illegible] them. "Se habia ido a llorar las
[illegible] a dominatrix [illegible]
[illegible] of the Fatherland. He [illegible]
[illegible] yores emprenas [illegible]
[illegible] say yes!" [I am
my st unico proceso. [illegible]
reserved for higher things. I am [illegible]
[illegible] he deserves is [illegible]
[illegible] ppened in Ma[illegible]
[illegible] orters and the Rizalistas, [illegible]
[illegible] and Evangelista, and [illegible]

[illegible] Rebe[illegible]

[illegible] time he w[illegible]

received in

Miguel Rodri[illegible]

For the [illegible]

[illegible] signature

[illegible] reward who would send h[illegible]

[illegible] Because it is above these proba[illegible]

[illegible] the up to it by sending to

[illegible] A NOVELLA

[illegible] put an end to Weyler's

[illegible] Manila on Sunday the 20th

[illegible] be 6 [illegible]

[illegible] the general [illegible]

[illegible] matter to call [illegible]

[illegible] a young colonial subject who is

[illegible] Captain General along with the top

[illegible] he [illegible] within a hour of being Noticed to [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] it is impossible to

[illegible] British French, Dutch or

[illegible] of Cuba to Spanish Cuba [illegible] A guess or two the first.

[illegible] of a novel reader, the

[illegible] his name was

[illegible] at what [illegible]
last Rizal himself seems to have [illegible]
objectives explain why he [illegible]
to the Philippines [illegible]
nothing. He plotted more [illegible]
much beyond copies of the novels. Moreover [illegible]
so on, and [illegible] that would have [illegible]
no mass access.

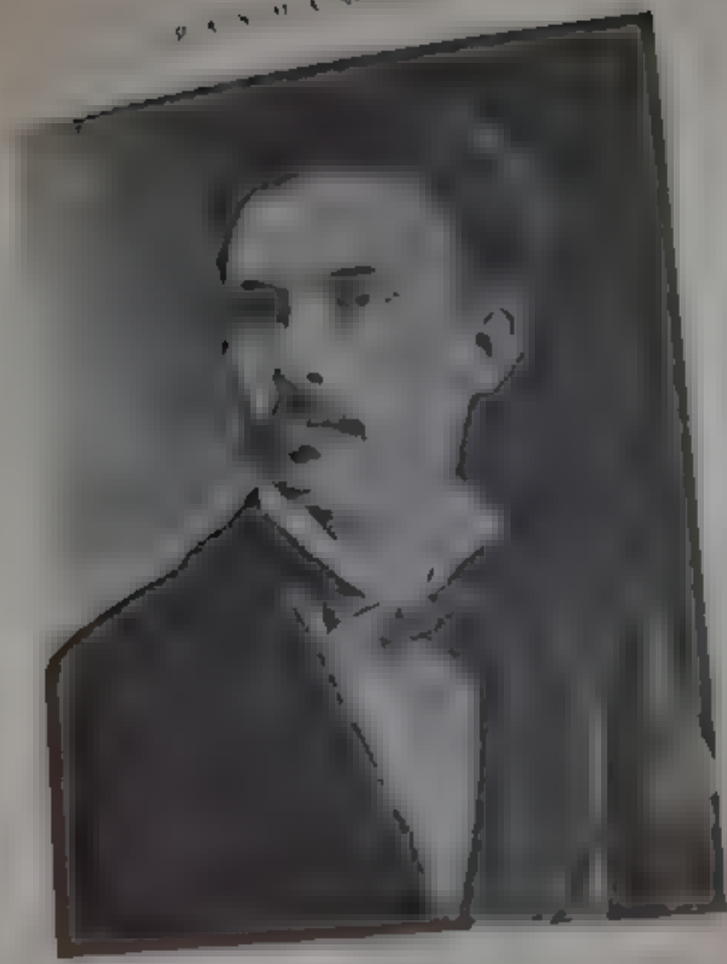
A PROPHET IN SUFFERING

On Wednesday, [illegible] Despujol for the last [illegible] that he was ready to return to Hong Kong. [illegible] explain the hidden presence of [illegible] through Pope Leo XIII [illegible] in his language. Rizal replied that this was [illegible] that packed for him, and would never have [illegible] without his knowledge. Despujol [illegible] that he was [illegible] Despujol [illegible] Rizal [illegible] Despujol [illegible] Rizal [illegible] Despujol [illegible] Rizal

the p[illegible] pr[illegible]
[illegible] Wa[illegible]
[illegible] Wa[illegible]
it was only on con[illegible]
clerical comrades, and co[illegible]
the uncertain periphery he[illegible]
in the fa[illegible] Ma[illegible] W[illegible]
[illegible] Ma[illegible] the Al[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] and in any ca[illegible]
dish the enemy. As for the Provincial hims[illegible]t, there
another mo[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] enjoyable that [illegible]
Dominican knave of clubs?[illegible]

MARTÍ'S INSURRECTION

It was just at this conjuncture that, on the other side of the globe, Ma[illegible]
formed his [illegible]



Ma[illegible]

that seemed propitious to his aims. (Nothing comparable happened in the [illegible] 872 and Bonifacio's insurrection in 1896.) [illegible] se of this transformation. As noted [illegible] victory for Madrid, but with a [illegible] (who had freed his [illegible] controlled the broken country [illegible] w few, and the economy was [illegible]

[illegible] assumed command of the Cuban
the outstanding guerrilla commanders of the wa

[illegible] that [illegible] had to be taken [illegible]
[illegible] by the [illegible] and [illegible] W[illegible]
[illegible] from the World depression [illegible]
[illegible] business in the United States [illegible]
[illegible] which in the first two [illegible]
[illegible] as well as administrative [illegible]
[illegible] however, engender the hoped-for consolida-
[illegible] empire. On the other hand, the opening to
[illegible] fended off much of the inefficient
[illegible] massive emigration from Spain
[illegible] Between 1882 and 1894 (the
[illegible] less than 224,000 Peninsulars
[illegible] Of
[illegible] that would [illegible]
[illegible] was [illegible] percent of the
[illegible] only hyperactively in Havana
[illegible] peasants and p[illegible]
[illegible] Las was but Maceo
[illegible]
[illegible] Maceo to wear [illegible]
[illegible] Nevertheless, when [illegible]
[illegible] males would (metaphorically, or on the [illegible]
[illegible] other as equals in the fight against [illegible]

Santiago de Cuba, 1896

[illegible] weeks later,[30] Back in power for the sixth and last time, [illegible] provided the capable political general A[illegible] M[illegible] [illegible] architect of the negotiated [illegible] the Ten Years War [illegible] Captain General and commander-in-chief. We [illegible] Martínez Campos as the target of Paulino Pallas's anarchist [illegible] September 24, 1893, when he was functioning as Captain-[illegible] of Barcelona. I breathed. He had then been sent to crush a [illegible] in Spanish Morocco. He was the only figure with the [illegible] to achieve what was aimed for: a military-political [illegible] the empire. Eight months later he was [illegible] in Cuba [illegible]

[illegible] despite the fact that Martí had been killed [illegible] his mouth, the new Captain General discovered without [illegible] He wrote to Cánovas thus:

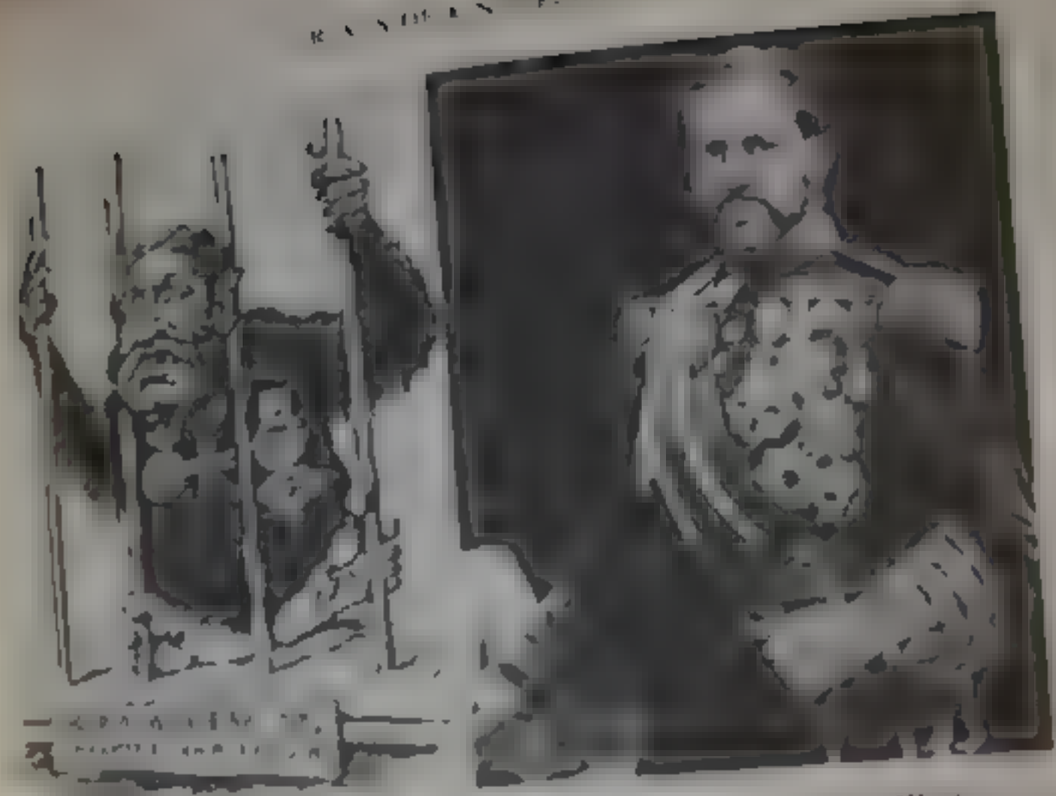
[illegible]

[illegible]

The seasoned Captain-General, thinking [illegible] imperial cause was lost (and [illegible] against the nationalist tide, m[illegible] and would not prevent a furth[illegible] Cánovas understood the message, b[illegible] Cuba would not merely drive him from po[illegible] the cacique democracy that he and Sagasta [illegible] past generation, it would also, by [illegible] ever conveyed across the Atlantic [illegible]

[illegible] contempt for what the hypocritical Americans [illegible] after the war), comments that [illegible] the whole island h[illegible] immense concentration camp [illegible] Between 1895 and [illegible] smallest proportion of children under five years of age in the census of the world [illegible]

[illegible] cost Spain over one and a half billion pesetas, plus over [illegible] victims of yellow fever and other diseases (p. 414) [illegible] and 433. [illegible] Land Warfare



[illegible]nor of Cuba Valeriano 'the Butcher' Weyler

Gomez's ruthless scorched-earth campaign against the haciendas of the [illegible] own role.[41] But the deeper problem was that neither [illegible] was nor Weyler had any plausible political, as opposed to military, solution to hand. As we shall see, this impasse was to be resolved by a wandering Italian lad, only a few years out of [illegible]

RIZAL TO CUBA?

Recognizing that he was likely to be exiled in tiny Dapitan for a long time, [illegible] He built himself a simple [illegible]

house on stilts by the shore of the [illegible] opened a medical practice and [illegible] in agriculture and botany and read widely [illegible] permitted to send in. His correspondence [illegible] letters that have survived are calm but [illegible] around as he pleased with the [illegible] teously by the commandant. In the meantime [illegible] Ramon Blanco arrived in Manila to replace [illegible] disliked by the Peninsular community at Marianao [illegible] veteran of the Carlist wars and of the Ten Years War [illegible] the reputation of being a flexible man. Meanwhile [illegible] cooked up abortive schemes to come to his rescue [illegible] him and take him to Hong Kong, and others to have him p[illegible] minister Sagasta and then run for a Spanish seat in the C[illegible] 1894 Blanco himself dropped by Dapitan on the way back [illegible] little war against the Muslim M[illegible] Mindanao. He [illegible] (Rizal recalled the dead and the [illegible] Luzon, to one of the Ilocano provinces in the far north. But in the [illegible] nothing came of this.[42]

By [illegible] the insurrection in Cuba [illegible] context of [illegible] in the Philippines. Blumentritt [illegible] stalling [illegible] Rizal's older friend R[illegible] London [illegible] closer to English businessmen trading [illegible] Spain and who had many friends in high places in Madrid [illegible] was a severe shortage of doctors attached to the military [illegible] ravaged Cuba. He therefore cajoled Blumentritt and Basa to [illegible] to volunteer. Finally, after much hesitation, Rizal yielded and [illegible] while Martinez Campos still ruled in Havana sent a letter to Basa [illegible] permission to offer his medical services to the military [illegible] was that this offer would be taken as evidence of Rizal's basic loyalty to [illegible] empire. In any case, the main thing was to get the exile out of the Philippines. The route to Havana lay through Spain; once there, Rizal could stay [illegible] safely under the protection of his political friends and powerful [illegible] novelist's own [illegible] Hence a [illegible] of honor and would have received from the [illegible] Basa [illegible] who after all had [illegible] offered to let him go [illegible] by to Spain [illegible] been sure that nothing [illegible] in their tropics. The [illegible] that in November [illegible] about Cuba

[illegible] economy. Here one can only speculate. He knew Martinez [illegible] the great Canary architect of the Pact of Zanjon which had [illegible] Ten Years War. A doctor himself, he took seriously the Hippo[illegible] and the wounded no matter what side they might be on. He [illegible] Cubans in Spain, first and foremost the abolitionist [illegible] Rafael Labra, and was generally familiar with advanced Cuban [illegible] up to the end of the 1880s. Perhaps he was curious as to what [illegible] the experience of the Philippines's sister colony. What is [illegible] case is that his years of isolation in Mindanao left him poorly [illegible] on what was now happening in the Caribbean island under Sa[illegible] Weyler.

[illegible] Blanco promptly sent Rizal's letter on to Madrid with his [illegible] approval. But for months there was no word from the [illegible] imperial capital. Meanwhile, in Cuba itself, Weyler and [illegible] had replaced Martinez Campos.

NEW CONJUNCTURES

Rizal's deportation to Dapitan in July 1892 had led to the immediate collapse of the infant Liga Filippina. But soon afterwards, a very small group of [illegible] in the Liga's orbit decided at a secret meeting in Manila to replace it by a clandestine revolutionary organization which they called the Katipunan [illegible] Kagalanggalang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (perhaps: Most [illegible] Respectable League of the Sons-and-Daughters of the People). [illegible] Andres Bonifacio, two years Rizal's junior, was then twenty-nine years of age. The Katipunan does not seem to have achieved very much [illegible] survival until the end of 1895, when its membership was still less than [illegible] persons.[43] But new international conjunctures in that year encouraged an

---

[illegible] that the Liga had been reconstituted on its original bases in April 1892. In [illegible] towards Bonifacio, who headed the branch in the neighborhood of Ermita, [illegible] que los trabajos de la Liga se esterilizaban con las conocidas discusiones de [illegible] compañeros que parecían tener más egoismo puro [illegible] mandó a paseo a [illegible] el Consejo Supremo del Katipunan [illegible] insisting that the work of the league was lost [illegible] discussions of its *ilustrados* members, which seemed [illegible] true patriotism, he set them aside and created the [illegible] which he presided to become the Supreme Council of the K[illegible] means the Light. De los Reyes [illegible] declared Bonifacio in rebellion and tried [illegible] to obey. This led the Liga to dissolve itself [illegible] giving the Captain General some internal Liga [illegible] it was possible. Bonifacio tried to use the Liga [illegible] the Katipunan

energetic expansion of its cadres, said by some enthusiasts to ha[illegible] 10,000 by August.[44]

The key [illegible] Katipunan underground [illegible] 1895 occurre[illegible] before the [illegible] Korea. In the case of [illegible] example [illegible] Mexico. [illegible] Spanish [illegible] Japanese [illegible] Aug-Japanese [illegible] shortly before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

began trying to establish useful contact [illegible]
was José Ramos, from a family rich [illegible]
London. In the summer of 1895 tipped off that [illegible]
for spreading nationalist propaganda [illegible]
an Englishman on a British [illegible]
Japanese woman took her [illegible]
naturalized subject of the Emperor Meiji [illegible]
tireless attempts to persuade [illegible] he war in K[illegible]
and to send them to the Philippines. Other rich Filipinos followed [illegible]
pretext of tourism or furthering their education.

Then on May 4, 1896, the Japanese naval training ship *Kongo*, with thre[illegible]
three cadets and twenty-[illegible] of a Japanese n[illegible]
to Manila [illegible]
[illegible] infringeme[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

rational arguments. Don Pio Valenzuela took his leave persuaded, it appears, that instead of later taking part in the rebellion he presented himself in the authorities' asking for pardon.]

A later sentence adds some complications:

> D. Pio Valenzuela venía [illegible] D. [illegible] Rizal [illegible] Katipunan [illegible] ate well.

This testimony is pretty plausible. In Rizal's negative [illegible]

> [illegible] Bonifacio was at first incredulous and the [illegible] received a letter from minister [illegible] Weyler had raised no objection to Rizal [illegible] he should be permitted to depart for the [illegible] letter to Rizal arrived in Dapitan [illegible] Manila on the same boat that [illegible] of this decision cannot be

[illegible] eagerness to escape the boredom and isolation of his [illegible] by any urgency in Blumentritt's message. At his trial Rizal [illegible] by an occasion to go to Cuba came out of purely private [illegible] Jesuits with a missionary priest.[illegible] This must refer to [illegible] return to Spain. Rizal and Josephine Bracken, unless the famous [illegible] opinions. But the real reason was surely fear of being [illegible] pending Katipunan uprising which he was sure would be [illegible] At this point, however, his luck ran out.

[illegible] seven weeks earlier a huge bomb was thrown during the [illegible] Corpus Christi procession in Barcelona. Six people were [illegible] and a number of bystanders. Twenty-two wounded subsequently died in [illegible] and martial law was declared in the city, then under [illegible] Captain-General Despaul. It was held responsible in [illegible] was [illegible] frightening since it seemed aimed at no [illegible] was perpetrated and its victims were ordinary [illegible] Essentially by the Church and [illegible] the Cypress [illegible] about three [illegible] of all types, [illegible] radical republicans [illegible] Most of them were [illegible] Montjuich would soon become [illegible] discussions.[illegible] He [illegible] suspect that it was a 20-year-old French anarchist [illegible] deserter from [illegible] Messenger [illegible] the French police was also a man who [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] received and that [illegible] was [illegible] instead respect [illegible] head of the procession but was hurled [illegible] As we shall see, Santiago himself [illegible] Montjuich [illegible]

[illegible]

claimed really
information
going excruciatin
almost certain
ven

Cuba was effecti
pities would sto
as well as the
methods in H
or hated for bot
quickly into fi

Rizal sailed for Manil

the departure of the ne
tably aboard off the Ca

turned to their parish priests in the

19 *El Español* punished a sensaciona

the confessional– so much for

had to be moved up to the

what he knew of the events transpirin

own better judgment (the colonial military was [illegible]
cable Madrid for reinforcements. [illegible]
arrested and some were executed. [illegible]
Death by firing squad was ordained for [illegible]
have helped Bonifacio's men. But to the [illegible]
followed Martínez Campos's earlier [illegible]
full amnesty to any rebel who surrendered [illegible]
offer in a second decree the following month. [illegible]
Archbishop Nozaleda cabled the Dominican HQ in Mad[illegible]
dissemination within Spain's political class: "Sim[illegible]
spreading. Blanco's apathy inexplicable. To avert danger, an[illegible]
leader urgently necessary." Less than six weeks later B[illegible]

And Rizal? The striking thing is that on August 30, the day [illegible]
opened the insurrection with his attack on the Marikina a[illegible]
was handed two personal letters of introduction [illegible]
one addressed to the Minister of War, the other to the M[illegible]
Territories. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] The roughly seven-million figure he comes to [illegible]
[illegible] over both of which Spanish control [illegible]
[illegible] (p. 257) for 1876 a figure of [illegible]
[illegible] these [illegible]

[illegible] Rizal had a [illegible]
[illegible] his conduct in Dapitan and refusal to [illegible]
[illegible] he had been reported [illegible]

[illegible] When at a shore in Singapore [illegible]
[illegible] and used them to pump ship [illegible]
[illegible] on his [illegible] Spain [illegible]
[illegible] Old Adolfo [illegible] making new for the Ph[illegible]
[illegible] Rizal [illegible] though he [illegible]
[illegible] he was [illegible] October [illegible] he reached [illegible] he was [illegible] The next day he [illegible] and [illegible] was taken to see Captain-General D[illegible] who spoke to him coolly and [illegible] sadly, but told him he would have to [illegible] to Manila that day aboard yet another troopship full of reinforcements [illegible] to Manila he was [illegible]

[illegible] peace. Cánovas did [illegible]

amplified by the

place of origin

Show

and Hongkong parents not to let

in Manila and his own

. Rizal was aware of the

preparing the dossier for his

interrogator, tain as follows

manifestarle, a

manera ó de otra que condena

[I am aware that this influence his case]."

approved this petition the next day, his last in office. On the same

the investigating officer made the formal decision "to omit the con-

of the accused and the witnesses, considering such confrontation

sufficiently

on December 15, he was sti

will be irregular and uncertain

and I do conde

manifesto would be broadcast to the people of the

The military Judge-Advocate General,

the military

to be used in whatever manner they

the rebellion

convinced of the

At dawn on December 30, Rizal was taken to Bagumb
shot by fi

death with dign

mean calcu

Rizal's exempla

widened the revolutionary movement, indirectly

novas's own assassination

THREE REFLECTIONS

in order to bring it to a confront

gled them out with the sisters who came to visit him. The
"ol" and "artistic" novel came to nothing, and the
Tamisa mark only a reversion to *Noli* rather than
filibusterismo. Possi

and

by Regis the chance of being
Hall

pass

Ho

And

bout going to

Ro

something

experiencing what
works leave the
them Rizal
of his people to his power
articles, which were not too
It came from his
What he had done in
Pampanga
gamblers
retainers
the
What Rizal had done in
what he had dreamed
the
here and the
Rizal
But when the

5

Montjuich

TÁRRIDA'S CRUSADE

Among the more than 300 people imprisoned at Montjuich in the aftermath of the Corpus Christi bombing of June 7, 1896, most were still there when Rizal joined them for that one night in early October. The key exception was the remarkable Cuban creole Fernando Tarrida del Marmol, Rizal's exact age mate, whom we last encountered [illegible] Madrid on his abortive political tour of Spain at the time of the Jerez *emeute* of 1892. Arrested late July 21—on the steps of Barcelona's Polytechnic Academy, where [illegible] Director and [illegible] professor of [illegible] Tarrida was released on August 27. He was lucky that a violent [illegible] warden [illegible] down into Barcelona [illegible] the news of [illegible] figure he could think of. The Cuban was [illegible] the Marquis of Mont Roig, a conservative senator [illegible] the prisoner. Tarrida was [illegible] harassed by this kind of help from the Right, but one can be sure that [illegible] on behalf of his less well-connected prisoner-friends. On his release, he very quickly made his way across the Pyrenees to Paris, [illegible] letters and other documents from his fellow prisoners that he had managed to smuggle or have smuggled out.

Tarrida's [illegible] among the prisoners of Espinosa [illegible] *La Revue Blanche*, France's leading intellectual [illegible] exactly at the time Rizal was being taken back from Barcelona to Montjuich [illegible] only the first of [illegible] articles Tarrida wrote for this [illegible]

Execution of anarchists in Barcelona

They covered in detail not only the gruesome aftermath of Montjuich, but also the Cuban War of Independence, the Philippines and Puerto Rico.

[illegible] of the Natanson brothers, wealthy, cultivated [illegible] moved to Paris in 1880. The boys published the [illegible] In 1891, however, the review moved to Paris [illegible] Lautec, assuming direct charge, and in October [illegible] much more lavish and elegant format. [illegible] acquitted of terrorism and sedition in the [illegible] the main editorial work. As we shall see, [illegible] impressionist and made the poster [illegible] *La Revue Blanche*'s last issue (no. 112) [illegible] and now Thadée had lost a [illegible]

[illegible] in Ceuta. America's [illegible] a pre Wright Brothers [illegible] The second in the series, published on [illegible] before Rizal's execution, was in fact devoted to [illegible] himself was briefly described as a [illegible] Tárrida was the [illegible] say that in this period Tárrida was the [illegible] to him [illegible] extraordinary [illegible] contribution. The extraordinary [illegible] on Montjuich. This [illegible] the result of his personal testimony [illegible] would become an Atlantic-wide movement of [illegible] published by the writer, with his usual media flair, "the [illegible] Tárrida's [illegible] *La Revue Blanche* since he [illegible] Spain [illegible] but also as a Catalan patriot [illegible] Montjuich [illegible] Rico, and the Philippines

[illegible] come about? Tárrida's own past career was of [illegible] have noted, in Havana in 1861, and [illegible] Queen Isabel in 1868. It is not clear why his [illegible] of boots and shoes, should [illegible] gone to live in Cuba at all. [illegible] in its final repressive [illegible]

I arrid
the Pope of
Spanis

of "collectivism"

Power of

North an

h and East, with the

Canovas's enemies in his

many metropolitan radicals fled

Ramon Emet[illegible] Betances (left) [illegible] his [illegible]nce in Roc[illegible]

born. He was [illegible] the [illegible] *devant* Marquis de Rou[illegible] who would later [illegible] his brother-in-law and a famously erratic rad[illegible] journal[illegible] and editor. In 1862, Clémenceau was jailed by the [illegible] under articles and on his release worked in a hospital next to the S[illegible] Pelagie prison for "politicals," where he got to know and [illegible] by Blanqui. He even smuggled in a printing press from Be[illegible] eternal conspirator. After Sedan he became mayor of Mon[illegible] *arrondissement* where the Commune would break out the next sp[illegible] Clémenceau was strongly opposed to the post-Louis Napoleon [illegible] groveling to Bismarck and worked hard against the Commune. [illegible] He created an unofficial [illegible] office which made [illegible] 23,000 Orsini bombs for use against the invader. Although he [illegible] close to Louise Michel. He often attended her work in clever sets of [illegible] was the illegitimate daughter of a prince and aristocrat and a chambe[illegible] and had started sending her poetry to Victor Hugo when she was [illegible] fourteen. In the 1860s she was in Paris, moving steadily leftward in her politics and in 1870–71 became famous for her devoted work in Montmartre for the wounded and the starving. Clémenceau [illegible]

[illegible] imagines Dallas [illegible] constituents. But for all that, I can [illegible]

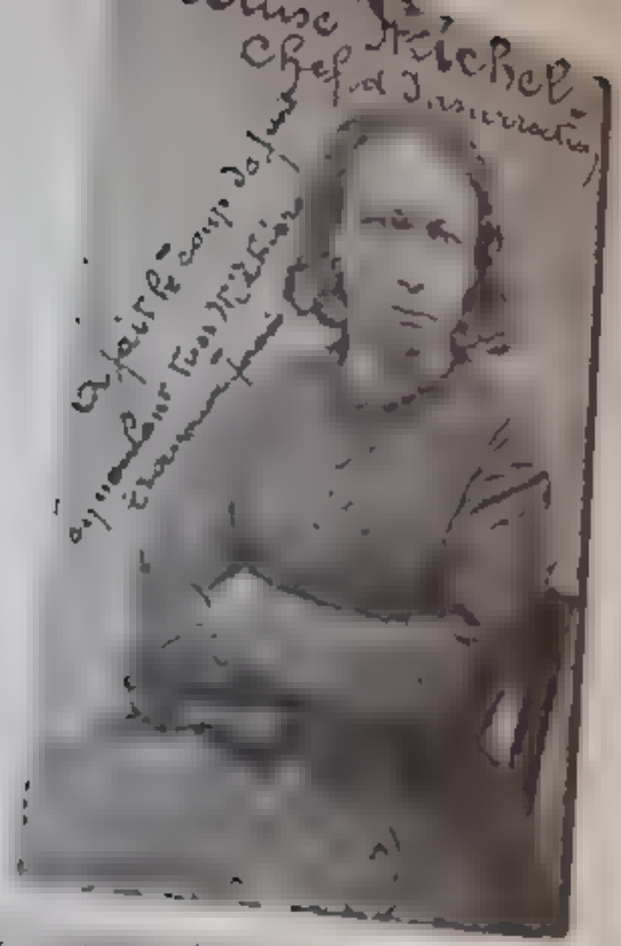
[illegible] was among the first Third Republic parliamentarians [illegible] [illegible] of the *communards*, tried to get Blanqui out of prison [illegible] Michel after she returned from New Caledonian [illegible] When the Red Virgin was sentenced in 1883 to an [illegible] anarchism, Clémenceau led the press campaign that [illegible] Republic to release her. A strong supporter of the workers' [illegible] and to unionize, he was also a committed opponent of [illegible] imperialism—including brutal French adventures in Indo[illegible] and Oceania. No prominent French politician publicist was [illegible] to the Cuban cause. His newspaper, *La Justice*, which [illegible] October 1897 was the most powerful and respected opposition [illegible] post-Commune period. Clémenceau moved to Ernest Vaughan [illegible] just in time for the explosion of the Dreyfus affair.

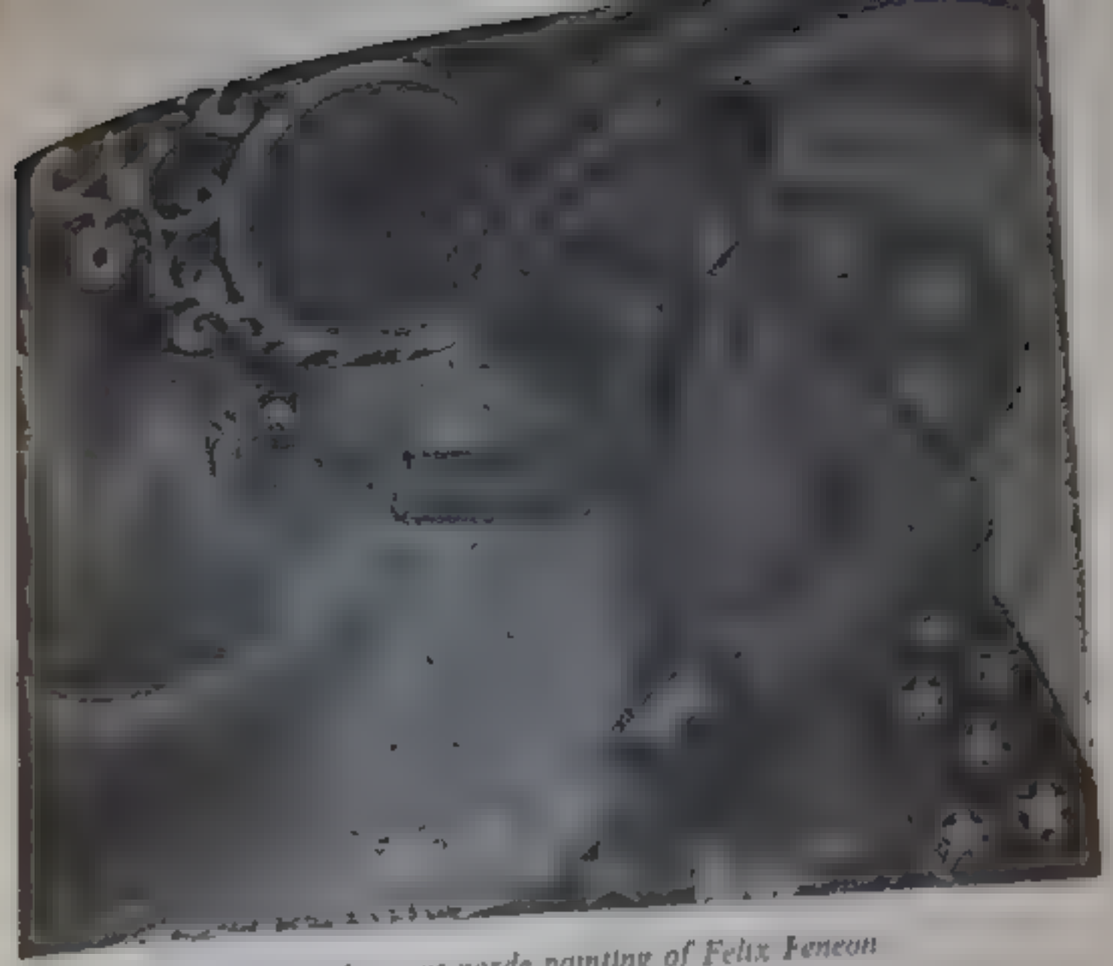
[illegible] Fenéon, two decades younger than Clémenceau, was born in Turin in [illegible] years after Rizal was born in Calamba. A brilliant provincial [illegible] he moved to Paris when he was twenty, took a job at the War [illegible] and started an astonishing career as art critic, literary editor [illegible] and 1880s) active anarchist.[7] At the age of twenty-three he [illegible] the avant-garde *Revue Indépendante*. In its first incarnation it lasted [illegible] which Huysmans's stories were the mainstay, but which also [illegible] writings of Proudhon, Blanqui, Bakunin, and Kropotkin. It was [illegible] hostile to French imperialism in Indochina, as well as *revanchiste* [illegible] nationalism. Fenéon wrote sarcastically of the war minister that he [illegible] troops to the Far East, with the intention of decimating [illegible] the Chinese—who have all our best wishes."[8]

[illegible] the second half of the 1880s, the time of Rizal's *Noli me tangere* and [illegible] Reyes' *El folk-lore filipino*, Fenéon became a central figure—in [illegible] was the central figure, though he preferred to work behind the [illegible] of the Parisian *avant-garde*. He managed simultaneously to edit [illegible] (of Laforgue among others) the original *La Vogue* (1886–[illegible] went out of its way to combat French nationalist provincialism [illegible] Keats, Dostoevsky, and Whitman—as well as Flaubert [illegible]

[illegible] Fenéon's father was a French traveling salesman and [illegible] Sewell Harman, *Félix Fénéon*, p. 21.

[illegible] *Ibid.*, p. 36.





Paul Signac's avant-garde painting of Felix Fenéon

oneiric poetry [illegible] received *Revue Indépendante* [illegible] who meticulously edited and organized the poetic chaos Rimbaud [illegible] into the bombshell *Illuminations* of 1886.[9] In the same year, the Salon Independents held its second exhibition, the first in which Seurat (two years older than Fenéon) and Signac (two years younger) were spectacularly featured. Fenéon not only coined the term "post-impressionism" [illegible] young rebels, but became their determined and brilliant champion [illegible] characteristic of his political outlook that he sent his pamphleteering [illegible] brow review of the exhibition to the Belgian avant-garde [illegible] *L'Art Moderne*, and published another [illegible] review in Parisian anarchist [illegible] radical tabloid *Le Père Peinard*. If all this were not enough, he took over the job of theatre critic for *L'Art Moderne* from his close friend Hu[illegible] championing new playwrights writing under the powerful influence [illegible]

In the early 1890s [illegible] the time of *Ff[illegible]*, Fenéon seems [illegible]

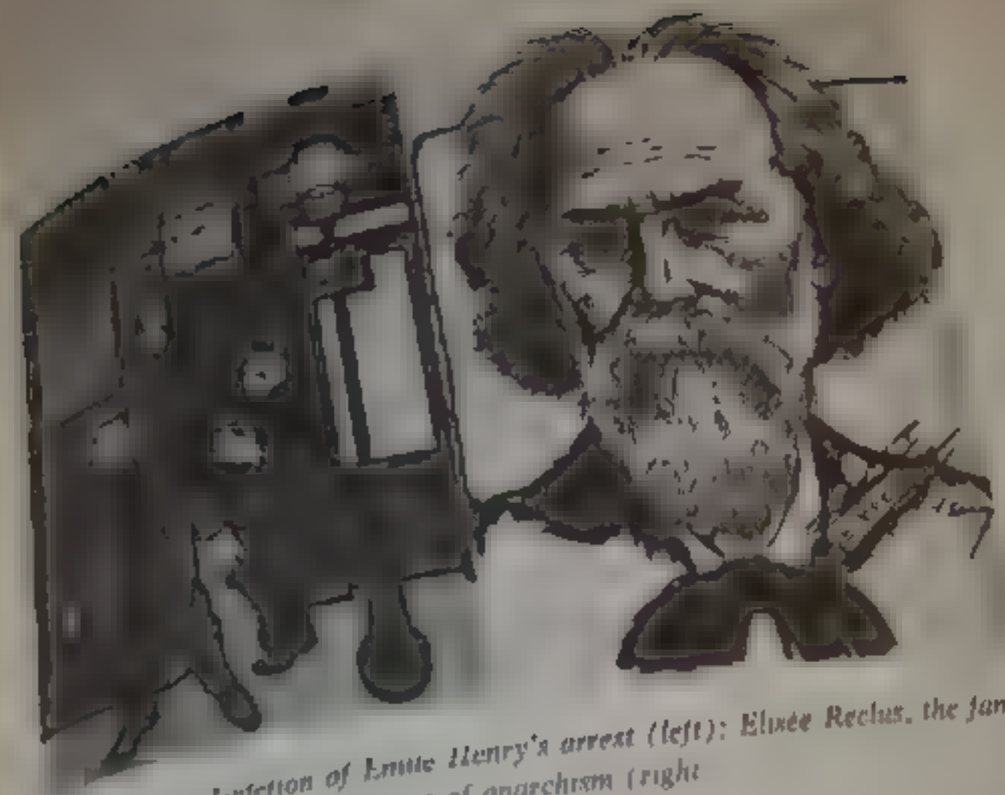
radical politics without abandoning his other avocations. In August 1891 he met the bizarre figure who called himself Zo d'Axa (aka Alphonse Gallaud de La Pérouse), who had founded the violently anarchist, avant-garde journal *L'Endehors* three months earlier.[11] It lasted less than two years. Six months after its launching, Zo was indicted for "outrages on morals" because of his journal's scathing articles on the French army, judiciary, and parliament; he fled to England, returned to Paris worried about his wife's fidelity, was arrested and held incommunicado for two weeks, got released pending trial and disappeared for good. Many of his comrades, however, went to prison [illegible] years. Fenéon was not arrested, but his police dossier was started [illegible] He took over the journal for the rest [illegible] great radical Belgian poet Emile Verhaeren, as well as Octave Mirbeau and Paul Adam, two young French anarchist [illegible] Mallarmé's circle.[12]

[illegible]

[illegible] T.J. Clark, in his *Farewell to [illegible]* [illegible] best art critic [illegible]

11. Halperin, *Félix Fenéon*, pp. 245–6.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
13. [illegible]

In the Cell' by Maximilien Luce depicts [illegible]



[illegible] temporary depiction of Emile Henry's arrest (left): Elisée Reclus, the famous theorist of anarchism (right)

It was at meetings of the Zo group that he met [illegible] Émile Henry, whom in a letter to Signac he described as [illegible] of all' because his acts are addressed to the electors [illegible] for the Third Republic. Fénéon was also willing to [illegible] anarchist acts have done more by far for propaganda than [illegible] of brochures by Reclus or Kropotkin.[14] On April 4, 1894, after Henry's arrest (with swift execution certain), Fénéon planted a bomb on the [illegible] hall of the fashionable Foyot restaurant opposite the Senate, which killed no one but caused some grave injuries.[15] As we have seen earlier, he was [illegible] acquitted. It is typical of his *sangfroid* that while awaiting trial on capital charges he set to translating *Northanger Abbey*, a copy of which he surprisingly found in the prison library.[16] In the dock as one of the notorious Thirty, he was acquitted, after running brilliant and hilarious rings around the judges and having many intellectual celebrities, as well as Clemenceau, testify on his behalf.[17] Mallarmé described Fénéon to the judges as *cet homme doux*, and when asked by journalists what his general opinion was of the art critic and his co-defendants—a strange mix of intellectuals, criminals, and anarchists—calmly replied that "he did not wish to say anything about these saints."[18] But Valéry in 1895 was closer to the mark, when he characterized him as "one of the most intelligent men I have ever met. He is just, pitiless, and

14. Eugenia Herbert, *The Artist and Social Reform: France and Belgium, 1885–1898* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 113. She draws the second quotation from John Rewald, "Extracts from [illegible] de Paul Signac," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6 36 (1949), p. 113.

15. See the vivid reconstruction in Halperin, *Félix Fénéon*, pp. 3–4. It was not until many years later that he confessed what he had done to the anarchist Alexander Cohen, a cultivated Dutch Jew who had first translated Douwes Dekker's *Ma[illegible]* into French.

16. David Sweetman, *Explosive Acts: Toulouse-Lautrec, Oscar Wilde, Félix Fénéon, and the Art and Anarchy of the Fin-de-Siècle* (London: Simon and Schuster, 1995), p. 375. The translation later appeared in *La Revue Blanche*.

17. Halperin's detailed account of the trial in chapter 14 of *Félix Fénéon* is masterly and wildly funny. Although the police found detonators in [illegible] Department office, they could not produce any direct evidence linking [illegible] the Foyot bombing.

18. Joll, *The Anarchists*, pp. 149–51.

tomary as "an
, and the literary periodical
were also firmly intern
that Huysmans

lly scorned by the literary
research on a better and

exploitation by the mine-owners.[24] C[illegible]
miners and was appalled by what he [illegible]
were also connected – perhaps [illegible]
dead [illegible] 1884 D[illegible]
of the S[illegible] des M[illegible]
coalfields who had responded [illegible]
massed by bringing in armed p[illegible] D[illegible]
mentarians to meet [illegible]
starved. Henr[illegible]
exploded [illegible]

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

Nothing shows better [illegible]
three years in [illegible]
B[illegible]
C[illegible]
[illegible] M[illegible]
[illegible]
H[illegible]
H[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Jewish. Dreyfus had been framed by anti-semitic, aristocratic

[illegible] as he was termed by critical leftwing intellectuals,
[illegible] hero to the Left.[27] Out of all [illegible]
[illegible] R[illegible] Left in which ma[illegible]
[illegible] active for the [illegible]
[illegible] such as Octave Mirbeau [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] in Paris became increasingly [illegible]
[illegible] lobbied (with growing success) such [illegible]
[illegible] support for the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Tarrida did not stay [illegible] in Paris. Spanish diplomatic
[illegible] expelled to Belgium.[30] [illegible] there he [illegible] the Strasser
[illegible] *La Revue Blanche* [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] from their own [illegible]
[illegible] M[illegible] and Dreyfus [illegible]
[illegible]
aroused widespread indignation [illegible] K[illegible] Hardie
[illegible] cheered enthusiastically for a length [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] New [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] press [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

from Havana, to harsh [illegible]
and the four Spanis[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Agueda [illegible] the Basqueland spa of San[illegible]

PATRIOT OF THE ANTILLES. DOCTOR BETANCES

[illegible] Betances [illegible]. How he came by h[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Antonio Maceo [illegible]
[illegible] Cuban [illegible] Puerto Rico [illegible]
[illegible] Haiti, the Dominican Repu[illegible]
[illegible] Santo Domingo [illegible] threatened by venal po[illegible]

He spent his tim[illegible] patients amo[illegible] polemical articles [illegible]

[illegible] insurrection and he [illegible] g about which the scent of Masonry [illegible] hung.[39] But in the process he became [illegible]

[illegible] at the end of 1871, eight months after th[illegible] d there for most of the rest of his life [illegible] earned him membership in the [illegible] riting polemical articles [illegible]

[illegible] doctors, industrialists and playboys, whose [illegible] completely conservative or at best, liberal assimilationist [illegible] "No hay un solo negro en su seno. Los alzados [illegible] was not a single negro in the [illegible]

[illegible] retreat from the Cuban Revolutionary [illegible] (RPR's manifesto denounced slave[illegible]

[illegible] Martí [illegible] ical friends were former comrade[illegible]

of the barbarities committed in Montjuich. Calm and [illegible]
Outside France, Betances's closest links were to [illegible]
Garibaldian traditions entrusted by prime minister Francesco [illegible]
novism and the repulsive fascism in Ethiopia. Throughout [illegible]
time of nations,[46] also had its role to play. [illegible]
supported the efforts of a number of these [illegible]
Garibaldi style for the revolution. But [illegible]
of the New York headquarters of Martí's revolutionary [illegible]
Tomás Estrada Palma, which was to preside over [illegible]
the island's struggle.[47] Curiously enough, [illegible]
sub-groups was a Bogotá run by [illegible]
Sotolongo, who was a classmate and friend of Rizal's [illegible]
and Evangelista.[47] Needless to say, the task of [illegible]
mun ty, which not only had no [illegible]
anarchist, with his non-Cuban anarchist friends [illegible]
the Puerto Rican somehow [illegible]

Betances's moment finally came with the [illegible] of Martí's
pendence in 1895. The two had [illegible]
their correspondence [illegible]
Martí's age and [illegible] experience [illegible] different from [illegible]
younger man, they respected each other.[48] Martí's revolutionary [illegible]
ties in New York [illegible] always included Puerto Ricans at the h[illegible]
and Puerto Ricans had played their own [illegible]
Accordingly, on April 2, 1896, Betances was appointed [illegible]
diplomatic agent of the Cuban Revolution in Paris [illegible]
of his age and his reputation, he was [illegible]
and political leaders of Western Europe.

It remains only to add, parenthetically, that Betances maintained a high

---

46. See Francisco [illegible] Angel [illegible] Ojeda and Estrada [illegible] *desterrado*, pp. 362–71.

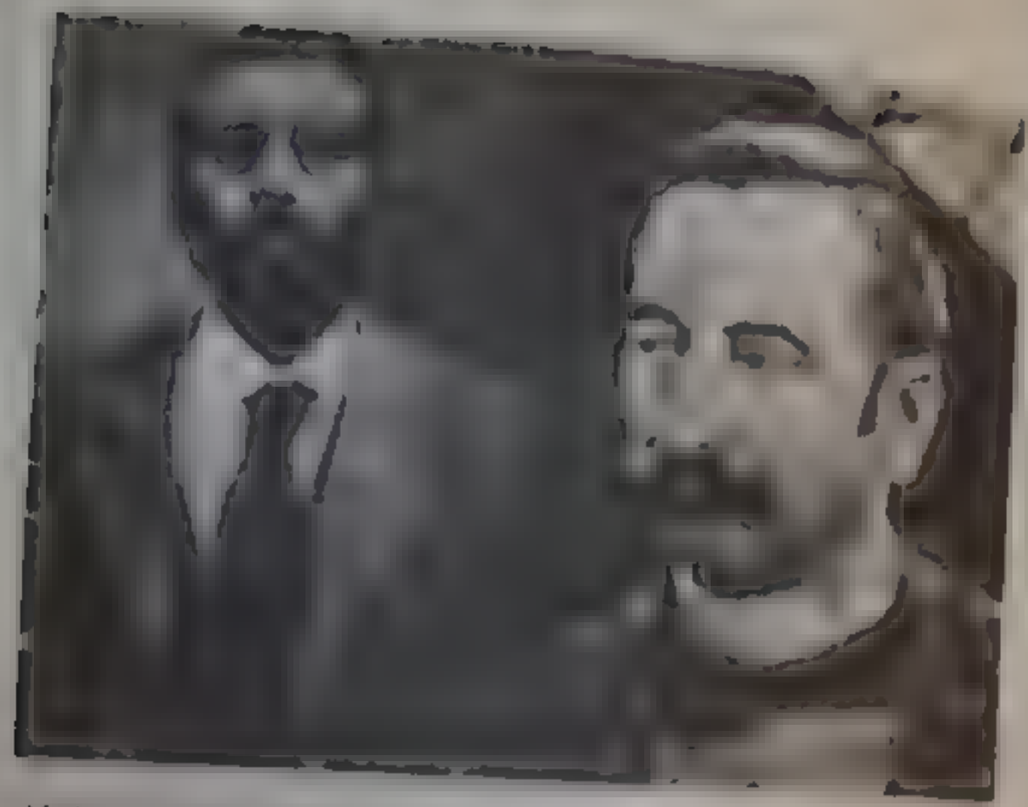
47. This committee was composed [illegible] Enrique Hernández [illegible] Spencer de Pol, Estrada [illegible] *Dr. Betances* [illegible] Rico, 200 [illegible] Hernández [illegible] Betances [illegible] Cuban [illegible] and [illegible] September. Rizal [illegible] New York [illegible] on his own, or on [illegible]

[illegible] Philippine revolution, partly because it was diverting Spanish [illegible] Cuba but also for its own sweet nationalist sake. As early [illegible] who 29 [illegible] month after Bonifacio started his uprising, the good [illegible] made it known in New York that the insurrection was much more [illegible] the Spanish public realized, and that 15,000 troops were already [illegible] suppress it.[49] In the same month, Betances [illegible] and *La* [illegible] published two articles on the Philippines, titled "Viva [illegible]" and "Que quiere Filipinas?" ("Long Live the Free Philippines" and "What does the Philippines Desire?"), expressing strong support for the [illegible] learning from Herrera how desperately the Filipinos needed [illegible] passed the news on to Estrada in New York, urging him to do what [illegible] he would do [illegible].[50] He also mailed to Florida Rizal's last poem, which appeared in the *Revista de Cayo Hueso* on October 7, 1897, under the title "Mi último pensamiento."[51]

ANGELITO: FROM FOGGIA TO SANTA AGUEDA

Michele ("Michael") Angelillo was born on June 5, 1871, just after the [illegible] the Paris Commune in the nearby [illegible] town of Foggia [illegible] northeast of Mulatesta's Naples.[52] Angelillo was thus forty [illegible] years younger than Betances. While attending a technical institute [illegible] Naples, he became politically conscious as a radical republican militant deeply hostile to [illegible] monarchy. Conscripted in 1892, he was observed attending a commemoration of the Parthenopean Republic of 1799 and was bitterly punished for [illegible] this by his military superiors.[53] He returned to civilian life [illegible] anarchist. During the elections of 1895, he published a manifesto against prime minister Crispi's version of the *lois scélérates*, for which he was [illegible] on charges of fomenting class hatred. Briefly at liberty, [illegible] he sent the manifesto to [illegible] Cuban [illegible] For this he was sentenced to two years in prison [illegible]

[illegible] p. 52. According to Estrada [illegible] had copy in the State Department [illegible]



Michele Angiolillo, left

further three years of internal exile. At this point he went to see a [illegible] former classmate, Roberto d'Angió, who was already a [illegible] Jean Grave's *Les Temps Nouveaux* (*La Révolte*'s new [illegible] the Thirty). D'Angio took him to see Oreste [illegible] student, but soon after to become [illegible] R[illegible] Cerardo Machado.[35] Advised by Ferrara to flee Italy, in early [illegible] arrived, using a false name, in Barcelona via Marseilles. The city h[illegible] considerable colony of Italian workers and artisans, as well as a reputation for anarchist activism. Angiolillo had barely settled down [illegible] trade as a freelance printer (and to acquiring Spanish) when the [illegible] of his friends were incarcerated in Montjuich, including Cayetano [illegible] whom he had worked at Tarrida's and Sempau's journal *La [illegible]*. The grim rumors about the tortures inflicted on prisoners there [illegible]

35 On Ferrara's career, see Fam[illegible]

young printer to flee Spain for France. He was arrested in Marseilles for having forged papers, spent a month in prison, and was then expelled to [illegible], where he found temporary work with a printing press owned by a member of Vandervelde's Parti Ouvrier Belge, before moving to London in March 1897: three months after Rizal's execution, and with Tarrida's crusade against the Cánovas regime at its height.

As mentioned earlier, London was the safest haven for Continental anarchists on the lam. The Spanish anarchist contingent was by now being augmented by people like Federico Urales,[36] as well as Ocer, who after being terribly tortured was released for lack of evidence, then expelled from his country. Angiolillo resumed his work as a printer, helped by his membership in a little-known institution, Typographia, which was a special section of the British printers' union reserved for foreigners. He certainly attended the huge demonstration of ten thousand people in Trafalgar Square on May 30 organized by a Spanish Atrocities Committee led by the English anarchist Joseph Perry. The crowd was addressed by a wide range of political notables including Europe-famous Tarrida, who spoke not in the name of anarchy but as the representative of *La Revue Blanche* and in the name of Heredia's Cuban Revolutionary Delegation in Paris.[37] Mulato made a passionate speech in which he asked who would avenge José Ri[illegible] [illegible] ted by the Cánovas regime. [illegible] when the maimed victims of Montjuich rose to tell their stories and bare their bodies. Not long afterward, Angiolillo personally met Ciano and Francisco Coma, another horribly maimed victim, at the house of a friendly Spanish anarchist exile. The German anarchist Rudolf R[illegible], who was present, described the scene as follows:

> That night when Coma showed us his [illegible] body left by the torture, we understo[illegible]
> [illegible]
> We all sat there as if turned to stone and [illegible]

[illegible]

Angiolillo [illegible]

[illegible] this event. [illegible] with vengeance on his mind and a [illegible] the same he had read Turner's book [illegible] which more than any other text [illegible] much on Hostos.[illegible] Hostos said [illegible] Batanes or the transcontinental crimes of the Spanish [illegible] this point that he went to see the Puerto Rican [illegible] on the Rio Grande [illegible] transported by Parada and Moret, both of whom had [illegible] to London. What actually happened after Hostos and Angiolillo met remains shrouded in mystery. [illegible] Angiolillo had been [illegible] Revenant in the infant Alfonso XIII. The [illegible] be a [illegible] besides, he was [illegible] was Canovas. [illegible] a friend. Angiolillo was [illegible] a Hostos [illegible] the chief [illegible] was the [illegible] Spanish empire. Perhaps the old Puerto Rican wished [illegible] that he had saved the lives of a woman and [illegible] Spanish prime min- [illegible] his great friend the [illegible] Baez.

[illegible] me imposible zoger á Báez, y puesto que la República Dominicana [illegible] una reforma radical, yo digo con Diderot que para [illegible]

[illegible] to her mother after seeing Crane [illegible] with red hot irons, his fingernails torn out, his head put in [illegible] his testicles [illegible] 77. This account comes from Avrich's [illegible]

[illegible] manuscript of the as yet unpublished second [illegible] copy of which was kindly provided to [illegible] Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis in [illegible]

[illegible], p. 45, for lengthy excerpts from [illegible]

[illegible] Diderot, [illegible] Louis XVI. [illegible]

[illegible] made his way to Madrid [illegible] by Antoine Antignac, a young anarchist in [illegible] In the Spanish capital he [illegible] Agent [illegible] August 8 [illegible] Angiolillo made an attempt to escape. He [illegible] By this, by a military [illegible] was defence speech, he spoke mainly of Montjuich, with some [illegible] the Philippines.[63] He also said that Canovas [illegible] present [illegible] military [illegible] the vanity of power [illegible] have [illegible] Spain [illegible] the [illegible] world of him. That is why I am no assassin but rather an executioner [illegible]

4. Ojeda, *La [illegible]*, p. 141, [illegible] Otto's Gregorio Luperón e Historia de la Restauración (Santiago, Dominican Republic: Editorial El Diario, 19[illegible]) [illegible]

62. Tambunni quotes from [illegible]

At the last moment of his life, he is said have cried out "
Baroja imagined him thus:

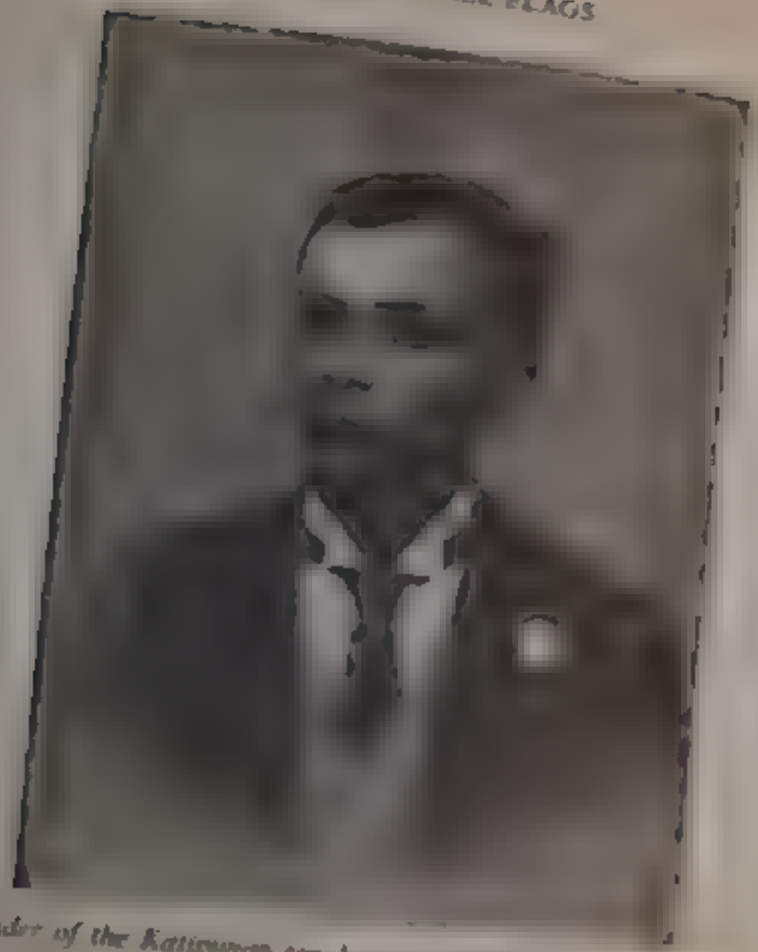
> Era un tipo delgado, muy largo, muy seco
> hablaba con acento extranjero. Cuando
> asombrado. Quien podía esperar aquello de un
> He was a slender fellow, very tall, very dry, ve
> spoke with a foreign accent. When I learned
> Who would have believed it of so

Canovas's death did not only sound the
storation "cacique
democracy" in Spain. It also brought with it
in Havana, as
government under war
minister Azcarraga lasted only until October 4, when it was replaced by that
of the

Blanco, *during* [illegible]
[illegible]
have been partly relieved. Fernandez reports that we had been
burned to pieces in April the previous year. We

months between the execution
wonder what had been happen
the Philippines!
[illegible] Rizal
millionaire Francisco Roxas went
the novelist had died. *Weylerismo*

[illegible] ion militarily, and in this
[illegible] up by a complex system of
the orders of Rizal's former *protegé*



The founder of the Katipunan revolutionary society, Andres Bonifacio

Katipunan in M[illegible] **supporters** [illegible] **and** was a thing of the past the task ahead was to run it effectively. Cavite had shown what needed to be done. In the end Aguinaldo [illegible] effectively packed each net almost exclusively [illegible] In addition, the former Supreme was **openly sneered at for his irregular education and low class origins.** Bonifacio **did not take this denigration lying down** and started to rally what supporters he could. The **Aguinaldo group then** arrested him, tried him in April and sentenced him to death for treason to the Revolution, later commuted. He and a brother of his were executed in May.

Whether Polavieja was aware of **these developments, and, if he knew,** whether he cared is unclear. In April he **resigned his post (as he had earlier**

[illegible] at Madrid's unwillingness or inability [illegible] that he believed necessary to finish off the rebellion [illegible] forces had risen to 16,000 and he received 13,000 [illegible] for a total of 29,300. After that nothing. In the [illegible] other parts of the archipelago he was not [illegible] **power to finish his mission.** Canovas seems to have understood that the [illegible] **for withdrawal in the Philippines had passed. Knowing the conditions** [illegible] **the capable Polavieja to resign, no senior general would take** [illegible] Generals without a change of policy. In April Fernando [illegible] **to take Polavieja's place.** He had been a military [illegible] during the war in early 1898 when Rizal was settling [illegible] with his knowledge of the colony, his military experience [illegible] he could be expected to pursue both a policy of [illegible] and of continuing the war, even if now with [illegible] one might say. In fact the new [illegible] to retake Cavite, but Aguinaldo and his [illegible] making a wide detour around Manila [illegible] well north of the capital from which [illegible] **succeeding military efforts managed to dislodge them.**[71]

[illegible] a week after Bonifacio's execution, Primo made what he [illegible] pardoning 636 people who had [illegible] either by Blanco or Polavieja. He further invited a [illegible] to his palace, expecting expressions of gratitude [illegible] He was interrupted by [illegible] Prominent in the [illegible] other than Isabelo de los Reyes, who had been arrested [illegible] aftermath of Bonifacio's uprising. The busy folklorist and [illegible] Prison was [illegible]

[illegible] transferred to Montjuich [illegible]

[illegible] Isabelo was secreti[illegible]

captain was ord[illegible] to keep the [illegible]

[illegible] by a long crack [illegible] Tedorico Lopez [illegible] who had

[illegible] had published an attack on trials by military courts

[illegible] Barcelona [illegible] formando círculo y dando [illegible]

[illegible] 24. Letter from Ponce in Hong Kong to Blumentritt, [illegible] in Ponce's *Cartas sobre la Revolución* [illegible] pp. 42 [illegible]. Ponce noted that he heard about the [illegible] from one of the people who [illegible]

[illegible] with his engineer in Madri[illegible]

Tomo I, pp 79, 196 7, and 200 (Vrales

but he took on the Urat Mountains (Nber

He was originally to be deported to Rio de

where he immediately hel

He returned to Spain in 1898

Blanche (but it was

He recalled

because the "

Vrales, whom

"Dr Boudin"

and 60 61 and 158 (Sem

Anarchismus und Catala

ing between anarchism and

of the Catalan Revival of the

Vales's *Mi vida* pp 80 81

p 15

certainly have sentenced him

of Bulacan, adjoining Malolo

northeast side (Agoncillo

Bisk na Bato is located

in this province) While still a student at Santo Tomas, he had

[illegible] Del P[illegible] Madrid to [illegible] Ponce and his mentor were the dri[illegible] Barcelona in February 1889 and in [illegible] Ponce remained the close and trusted friend of both.

After Rizal's arrest and deportation [illegible] Dapitan [illegible] *La Solidaridad* [illegible] slow decline and its last issue appeared in October 1895. On [illegible] that it depended financially on contributions from well-off sympathizers in Manila, and these were increasingly difficult to extract. But the main problem was that after six years of intensive labor Del Pilar's poli[illegible] strategy of assimilationism, still had little impact on the Spanish government [illegible] and there was a growing feeling in the Filipino colonies that it was [illegible]

[illegible] In the spring of 1896 Ponce and Del Pilar decided to move [illegible] where they could be safe from persecution but close to their [illegible] But Del Pilar's health was by then broken and as noted earlier [illegible] a miserable death in martial law Barcelona on July 4. Ponce, who had [illegible] nursed him, stayed on to settle their remaining affairs. When [illegible] uprising erupted at the end of the following month the police [illegible] the house where he was living and the premises of the Hispano-Philippine Association, removing many documents. Ponce himself was [illegible] but only for one night, as the police found nothing serious [illegible] When things quietened down he slipped across the French [illegible] Marseilles and set sail for the Far East on October 11.

[illegible] spring of 1897, at the age of thirty-four, he began there the work that [illegible] for the next four years: raising money for what was by then [illegible] government, attempting to buy guns [illegible] the Philippines and engaging in a ceaseless [illegible] campaign in behalf of his country's independence. (In June [illegible] Ponce was sent by Aguinaldo to represent the Philippines in Japan.) In accomplishing the first two tasks Ponce had little success. His *Cartas sobre la Revolución* [illegible] by substantial financial [illegible] contributions and [illegible] people [illegible] to be. The search [illegible] arms was even [illegible] Bonifacio correspondence was a fascinating [illegible] how Ponce [illegible] his propaganda campaign and tried to adapt [illegible] the hectic events of 1897–1900. Before undertaking an analysis of the texts, a brief recapitulation of these events is necessary.

WHO IS THE ENEMY?

While Isabelo was still [illegible] in Mariquina, the military uprising in the Philippines continued. Primo Rivera was unable to destroy Aguinaldo, and the man from Cavite was unable to make any serious breakout from his Biak-na-Bato redoubt. It was time for political [illegible] Aguinaldo's civilian associates slowly led him that his position would be greatly strengthened if a democratic constitution were enacted to replace the arbitrary government competing with the colonial regime. The task was assigned to Felipe Ferrer and Isabelo Artacho. Teodoro Agoncillo dryly described the process this way:

> Ferrer and Artacho [illegible] members of the Constitutional [illegible] drawn up in [illegible] and passed it off as their own work [illegible]

BIG STICK
OYSTER BAY

policy—in spades—
of malnutrition
merciless counterinsurgency warfare

A GENTLEMAN GLOBALIZED

in mind, it is possible to return productively to Pouce's
role as one of the most important overseas emissaries of

Table 1 Nationality of correspondents (where known)

Table 2 Addresses of correspondents by country or state

and Pennsylvania*)

Germany
China

Spain, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Philippines, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Cuba, Puerto Rico

de que son Yoles nuestro

n en estas empresas colosa

nacionales, que solo podemos esperar de

las el doloroso camino de su historia de verguenza

mas han

unid, juntas deben tambien pulverizar sus cadenas [W

others and that w

ne for ours from you Cuba and the Philippines have

of shameful enslavement, and

Izquierdo

kanoy is conte

that in 1940 [illegible]

higher than in

[illegible]

[illegible] adquirido en [illegible]

[illegible] extraño y exotico a todo lo que

[illegible] right [illegible]

[illegible] since everything duclonce a

[illegible] everything that occ

[illegible]ly strange and exotic [illegible]

[illegible] own eyes]

invited to give an address to w[illegible] talk
[illegible]ty, composed of "*indios* [Indians]", *koo*
[illegible] was made an h[illegible] member o[illegible]

hot water, since h[illegible]

[illegible]er of the clique that had plotted Mabini
right-hand man to [illegible]

The book did not [illegible]

[illegible] department of the Tok[illegible]
Kugu Gakkoi, according to the univ[illegible]
teaching intensive courses for the Ma[illegible]
institution, in Matsuno Akibusa.[illegible] Nihon[illegible]
beginning and development of M[illegible]
Hagakuun okeru gaikokugo kent[illegible]
Gakko, 1909). Also in 1908 he [illegible] lecture on "Th[illegible]
Religion" to t[illegible] national associ[illegible]
academic Inoue Tetsujiro (1[illegible]
indicate that he was a Tok[illegible]

Hubtukyo no [illegible] blished in two parts in the associati[illegible]
Tou no Hikari (Light in East Asia) [illegible]

[illegible] then moved on to study Islam in [illegible]
broadened his interest to the whole Islam[illegible]
Africa. He also underlined, giving conc[illegible] influence of Arabic on
[illegible]nese. He argued that Europe's
[illegible] impossible there, but that the
[illegible]ns or favour" and should start

[illegible] *Ibid.* pp. 416-18
[illegible] *Ibid.* p. 411. Letter dated October 26, 1899

Suehiro Tetsu

Cartas come to an end [illegible]. But it had consequences to be looked at later in this chapter.)

When Ponce asked the translators to include the original Spanish text of Rizal's [illegible] here [illegible] he probably believed that he w[illegible]ng the martyred novelist [illegible] public for the first time. If so, he was deceived. In early 1888, when Rizal set off from Manila to London, he spent six weeks in Japan (February 28–[illegible]). Fascinated by the country, he immediately started to study not [illegible] the Japanese langua[illegible] but also Japanes[illegible]
On the liner that took him [illegible] miserably alone. The

and 1904. Furthermor
published two no
over the Southern Ocean) and *Arashi no A*
Three years later he combined them into
(Big Ocean)

The young hero of the novel
Yamada-mura (Yam
Filipino named Takayama, living in
r Manila, is engaged to
well placed
he engagement
binary il bloody
rection of which
so far as I can
and sentences teni
Europa, despues de haber estado preso po
derecho fuerte. Como el japones

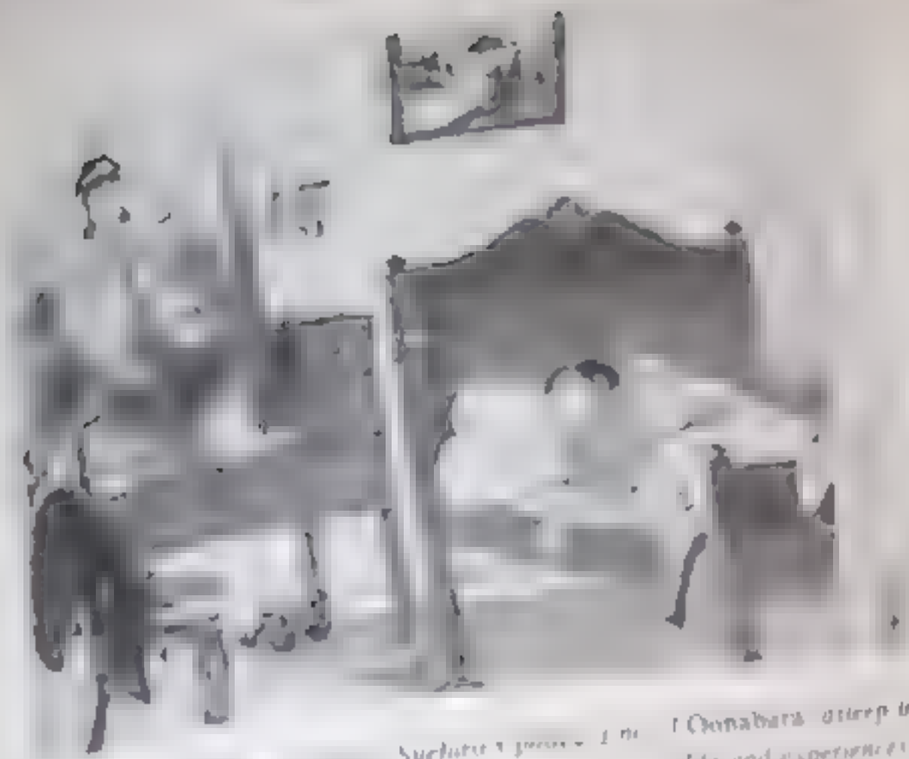
in prison in Macao and
off for the imperial capital, where they are
Okiyo to an isolated suburban house. By
cle about the author of *A History*
hotels, realizes that Ta-
which
n Sebastian Takayama's b
the other passengers in
servant, she flees from
nce she runs into a fully reco

Sachiro wrote that it w
an unnamed Philippine gentleman w
ars previously. But in two es
States and Europe he gave the nam
, if there were no other indications,
Takayama Ukon were virtual contempor
discovery of his personal ancestry and Riz
perfectly coincide - in the British Museum
It is worth remarking that the two novels
itten before the S

that they thought about securing
rs and the protection of the
g to make his private sympathies broadly popular
just what Blumentritt was doing in A
In any case, true to his
political arena. He was ele

he died of cancer just a few

ieth century
it in the older,



Suehiro's house in Okonabara, asleep in his
on Rizal's life and experiences

NECTIONS

lated June 8,

at a De

angalo sa Kasia ang iya ko pong
ne ref erences have given me a great deal of help
common and helper in

nce Sun had

Sun was brought to Ponce

years old

became lifelong friend

in English, but it off at once, and

once, perhaps of

The pas

in gunnery, engineering, and munitions manufactu

toured towards China to

a typhoon

hundred miles from Shanghai

perhaps surprised t

was immediately published in C

. But he should not have been

PAWA. INTERNATIONALIZING THE WAR

from Hong Kong. Ponce reported

ional contributors to

Malvar and Del Pilar s

not Ponce descri

mas valiente que el Cid y muy

braver than The Cid, and very

ched Funan village in

blacksmith friend, to set up an arms factor [illegible] dly under-arms Filipino troops. Teresita Ang-S[illegible] his activity like th[illegible]

enemy were repaired, large bamboo cannon taped with wires were manufactured numerous *putik* [crude firearms] were made, and thousands of cartridges were filled up with home-made [illegible]

among the local Chinese and Chinese mestizos, he [illegible] of 386,000 silver pesos [illegible] e was only one among many non [illegible] ned or sup[illegible] Revolution [illegible] ed and often abused by the colonial [illegible] is gone. And after the [illegible] of young Spanish officers [illegible] ning Aguinaldo's forces. Antonio Luna, as Chief [illegible] of their professional training to put them to [illegible] and creators of fortifications. Quite a [illegible] lers when the Philippine Amer- [illegible] the Spanish military [illegible] alongside Frenchmen, Italians (includ [illegible] he Boer War on Kruger's side), a few Britons, [illegible] ven deserters from the American forces

MALATESTA TO MANILA

[illegible] Reyes had managed to put together the [illegible] named *Filipinas ante Europa* [illegible] ontra Norte Americ[illegible] What Del Pilar had once maliciously [illegible] undity" came in handy, as most of the [illegible] called the folklorist's [illegible] The loss of empire, and [illegible] contents had to come from his pen [illegible] nons inflicted by Washington brough[illegible] opinion in Spain. Anger at the Ameri[illegible] Filipino cause. The change suited Isa[illegible] Spanish friends, had just married a [illegible] attributed the evils of colonial rule [illegible] Orders. Hence the aim of his fortnightly was [illegible] by bustering attacks on American imperialism [illegible] *la codicia* (greed) underlying it. McKi[illegible] Tartuffian claims that the conquest wa[illegible]

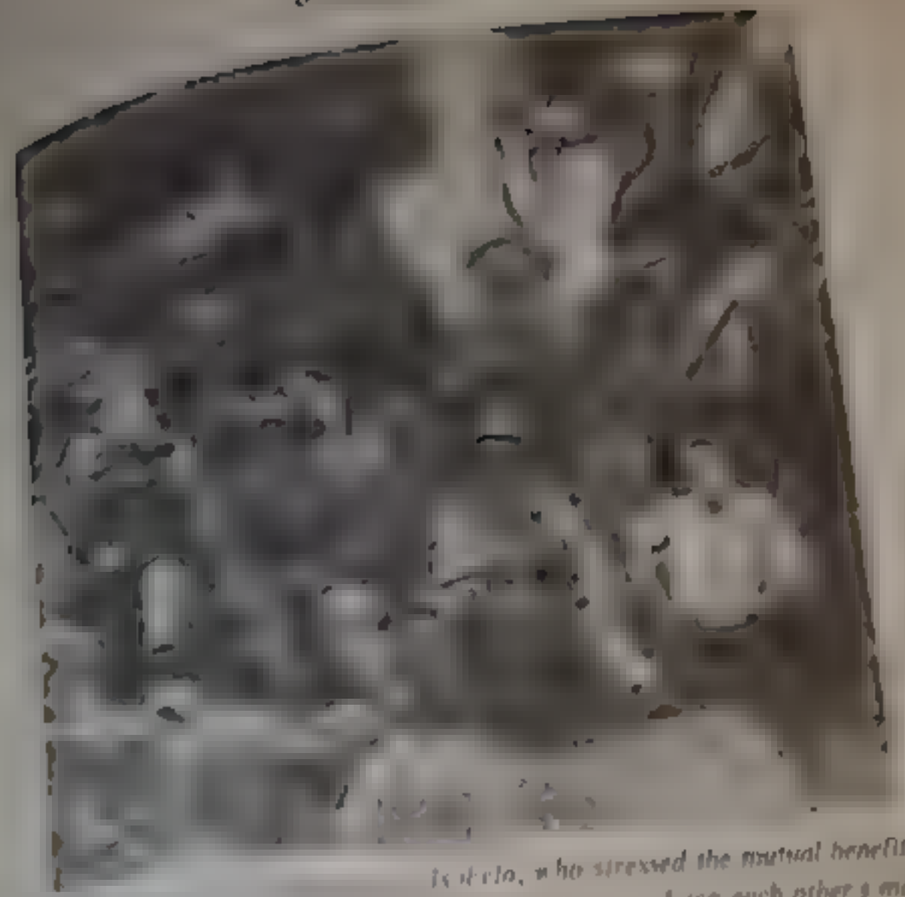
Filipinos.[124] Isabelo regularly attacked the l
lynch law, rightly saying that this
non-whites

the new tropical Siberia Guam.[125] Isabelo saw no point

124 Characteristic is the headline "Mac Kinley embuster
tey, Liar or Criminal?]," *Filipinas ante Europa*, March 10, 1900.
125 "Negro Porvenir de los filipinos bajo la dom
Future for Filipinos under Imperialist Domination]," *ibid.*
given), 1899. "A los negros, les cazan como a fie
de
like wild beasts if they have the misfortune
126 Alas, this group included Pardo d

American colonies. A good example of the ferocity of his rhet
is "Contra la traicion [Against Treason]," *ibid.*, February 10, 1900.
127 "Organ
Boer [The Organization of the Boer A

ured on December 10, 1899, and imprisoned in Manila
powerful articles against
policy, some so fi
1900) a general amnes
the oath of allegian
do so. On October 3, he wa
ued his attacks on Filipino collaborators and the Amer
January 14, 1901
described by future Governor
most prominent irreconcilable among the
their personal servants (Mabini
Roosevelt issued a further amnesty



Isabelo, who stressed the mutual benefit that
from studying each other's metho

ritas and Boers
ad not seen his
hildren by his first wife in four years
he would go back to face the colonialists, politely telling
see what he could politically achieve, more or

r Manila in early October 1901.[130] In his bags he had

d he would not be allowed back to the Philippines without
e now had no alternative—he agreed to
He died of cholera three months later, on May 13. His fune
hering of Filipinos in the capital seen in many years. See
Majul's *Mabini*.
129 In "A mi casa
Filipinas, he gave a persuasive ar
Isabel
130 The following
Almost the
drawn from Scott's
was the
born in 1859
ll-off conservative Catalan family,
and eventually

packed a small idiosyncratic library [illegible]
and the Bible, Darwin and Marx. [illegible]
every reason to believe that these [illegible] texts of Marx
leading anarchist thinkers, perhaps even of Darwin
ippines. Isabelo's reputation [illegible]
[illegible] preceded him. The *Manila Times*
swelling population of American [illegible]

chance: the previous month President McKinley ha[illegible]
Buffalo by the 28-year-old Polish-American [illegible]
[illegible] regime immedia[illegible]

---

130 cont'd anarchist, Ferrer returned to Barce[illegible]
influential anarchist publication *La Huelga G*[illegible]
a million-franc legacy from a Frenchwoman [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] specialty [illegible]
[illegible] his p[illegible]

[illegible] quest ha[illegible]

[illegible] newspaper, *El Defensor de Filipinas*, and prohibited his proposed
[illegible] [illegible].

But he was a man not easily put down. In old age he recalled that he
[illegible] [illegible] actice the good ideas I had
[illegible] from the anarchists of B[illegible]
[illegible]

He had always been a partial outsider for the *ilustrado* nationalist in-
[illegible]telligentsia, which was overwhelmingly Tagalog: not exactly aristocratic,
[illegible]

[illegible]

the mountain slopes south of Rizal's Calamba, where
peasant home surrounded by a tiny, bea[illegible]
[illegible] only became in

passion for fiestas, d

found various ways to bar Isabelo from the labor scene. In

labor conspiracy

and eventually by his accus

Orders the estates which the Revolution had confiscated be

[124] The UOD collapsed in 1903, but out of its ashes came

against the Ameri

July 4, 1946

it was better to give money to a coachman than to throw it away on a car and

AFTERGLOW WEST. ISABELO DE LOS REYES

Isabelo had on occasion been treated disdainfully by R

Rizal as the exem

translation of *Noli me tangere* into a non-Spanish lan[illegible] in Paris (which must have delighted the martyr's shad[illegible] that Isabel had [illegible] and in this [illegible] long time Montseny's mate Ramon Sempau, while [illegible] Frenchman, Henri Lucas, who was also probably an [illegible] slightly depressing title *Au Pays des Moines*, this translation [illegible] *La Revue Blanche* as volume no. 25 in the Bibliotheque Soc[illegible] Pierre-Victor Stock [illegible] a publishing [illegible] 1895 but between [illegible] and [illegible] this rubric. The catalogue is riveting. No. 1 (1[illegible] *Conquete du futur*; it was followed by Jean Grave's *La Societe mourante et l'anarchie* (1894), the French [illegible] Charles Malato [illegible] (1895), Kropotkin's [illegible] Dauriac's [illegible] Nettlau's [illegible] between the Italian historian Guglielmo Ferrero's *Le militarisme et la vie moderne* (1899) and Charles Albert's *L'Amour libre* (1898).

Should we be surprised that the at least *anarchisant El filibusterismo* [illegible] The vitriolic attacks on the Orders were also, for reasons that are [illegible] flatly sociologi[illegible]

AFTERGLOW FAST: MARIANO PONCE

[illegible] of statues of Rizal [illegible] the plaza [illegible] monument erected in the [illegible] American [illegible] the spot where he was executed. In [illegible] South America [illegible] however, there is little more than a [illegible] San Francisco, and a larger one in Chicago. Perhaps [illegible] can be read as the world-hegemon's uncon-[illegible] artist's own indifference to, and ignorance of, Gods [illegible] mentry.[19]

[illegible] Rizal theme park [illegible] Hokkan Chinese Fortunes, whose [illegible] Mexican port [illegible] there is some [illegible] especially we realize [illegible] Chinese translations of Rizal's [illegible] poem [illegible] Hokkan [illegible]

Postscript

In January 2004 I was invited to [illegible] the theses of this book by the [illegible] University [illegible] Philippines where the influence of the [illegible] New Communist Party [illegible] Arriving much too early I [illegible] so I asked them to hand out the theses to the audience [illegible] the same when [illegible] Without leaders! [illegible] the country [illegible] Maoist Communists [illegible] The leaflet was [illegible] This was a second point [illegible] audience and [illegible] would have been pleased by the [illegible] park in Amoy, but I feel [illegible] and have been [illegible] by the leaflet and rushed to [illegible] *[illegible]*. He would have found [illegible] of similar stripe around the [illegible]

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